

The Secrets of Being Happy • Quebec's Angry Anglos

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 16, 1996

How Clinton's
Bombing Made
The Iraqi Ruler
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Why Saddam Won

The Real Reason Chrétien
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From The Editor

Extreme measures



A Canadian returning from the moon last week might have felt he was stepping into a time warp. There, like from the White House, was the U.S. President, announcing what a wondrous world already knew: cruise missiles had hit targets in southern Iraq in an attempt to punish Saddam Hussein. And there, as his



Anglophiles, a community with its back to the wall

ambassador, was the man Americans love to hate, denouncing the evil enemy of his people. As if that was not days or enough, in Quebec there was the air of suspicion of a better language war, where analysts in the governing party are determined to restrict the use of English. The new, destabilizing turn has been the acceptance of a controversial English-rights advocate, advertising executive Bernard Gagnier, who enjoys the backing of many anglophones—and is denounced as an extremist by his many adversaries.

The Iraq and Quebec crises had one common element—a profound lack of leadership skills. No one in either arena was more than a head to the U.S. President or Bill Clinton put political opportunism ahead of statesmanship and, distracted by his re-election bid, failed for an entire week to do all he could to defuse the looming tensions in Iraq. For his part, Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard, who tries to be all things to all people—even a threat to English-speaking Quebecers—failed to keep the language extremists within his own ranks in check, the way that former premier René Lévesque did during his tenure.

As Washington Editor Andrew Phillips reports in this week's

cover story, Clinton knew as early as Aug. 26 that Saddam was moving troops against the Kurds in northern Iraq. But that day, Clinton also was on the move—taking a train towards the Democratic convention in Chicago. Despite plans for decisive action, the U.S. President opted to keep Iraq off the agenda, ordering the air strikes against Iraq—this time from a campaign bus in Tennessee—only on Aug. 26. While Clinton enjoyed the backing of his citizens, the end result clearly was more helpful to the evil genius of Baghdad (page 24).

In Quebec, there is no overwhelming evidence that the drive to affirm the language law enjoys much support. In sharp contrast to the shell separatists and the angry Anglos, there is a kind of world-weariness with the language question across the province, especially among bilingual Montrealers. Josh Frost, a columnist for *The Gazette*, has jokingly advocated the creation of a regional language theme park where infiltrators on both sides can fight. "While the rest of us go on with our lives in both languages," 58%, as *Maclean's* new Montreal bureau chief, Brenda Bruneau, reported from Montreal last week, Gagnier does have a loyal following in a community that feels it has its back to the wall—particularly since the near-death experience in the referendum last year. The result is that, on both sides, the extremists have taken over the debate.

It was not much of a week for diplomacy and compromise.

Robert Lewis



Phillips oversees the Gulf War

was, Phillips was based in London and travelled to Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Qatar and Saudi Arabia. When Saddam Hussein's army chased the Kurds from their homes in northern Iraq into the mountains along the Turkish border, he reported on their plight from both Turkey and northern Iraq. When the current crisis erupted, further-based *Maclean's* correspondent Islam Shalim was travelling in Iraq and filed firsthand accounts. Ottawa Editor Anthony Wilson-Smith provided an assessment of Ottawa's motivation in supporting the U.S. bombing raids. The cover project has overseen by World Editor Borson Woodward.

Former Washington Editor Carl McNeil has returned to Toronto where, upon his official retirement, he becomes a regular contributor to this magazine.

Newsroom Notes:

New assignments

With the two main U.S. political conventions behind him, Washington Editor Andrew Phillips last week turned to his first cover story since taking up his new post in the capital after three years as a Toronto-based senior editor responsible for the Canada section. "Last week's attack on Iraq revived memories of the Gulf War," said Phillips, "and especially the Kurdish refugee crisis that followed in the spring of 1991." During the

PHOTO: GREG GORDON/REX; BY ANDREW PHILLIPS; ILLUSTRATION: ANDREW PHILLIPS; ART: JEFF KAY



BOSS
HUGO BOSS

Photograph
by
Robert Lewis



Shorter warnings of breaches of privacy must be handled carefully

Canadian spies

Berens, Maclean's has a retired employee of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and External Affairs, and then in the first full-page article that I have ever seen in a Canadian publication on the broad scope of espionage in Canada, setting the situation appropriately in the global context ("The new spy wars," Cover, Sept. 2). Not only are we spied upon, but we do it to others as well, albeit as a more constrained and focused force than most other countries. In the process of globalization, a leading economy such as Canada's must be protected and enhanced. Yet the special warnings of actual and potential breaches of privacy by the Communications Security Establishment as explained by co-employee John Shorten, if not Mike Frost, must be handled carefully. If, in gathering information, we spend some hours, it must be on the side of the privacy of

Canadians. Specifically the government has taken a balancing act, creating a review agency, but without the conventional legislative measures placing responsibility and accountability for our review on a full panel of committee members. We should not compromise on the privacy of Canadians even if the CSIS apparently does only foreign intelligence gathering.

Peter Morris,
Oshawa

The article confirms what any thinking Canadian should have discerned a long time ago: the United States is no friend of an independent Canada. The threat of the ubiquitous, ubiquitous United States still exists, and, if anything, is getting greater. It is facts that all Canadians were made aware of this continuous threat to our existence as a nation, particularly as a result of the threats from within. The internal threat comes not only from the separatists of Quebec, but also from closet separatists like Mike Frost, Minister of External Affairs, and Ontario Premier Mike Harris who want to make the lowest contribution in the world still known: I am first of people who are Ontarians or Albertans or Quebecers first and Canadians second. As a Montreal-born Canadian living in Ontario, I am a Canadian first no matter where I live.

J. David,
Oshawa

I disagree that Canadians are "native about the imperial American mind and contributing U.S. expansion." We know that there is a larger part of Canada that is not as well served by the United States if Quebec decides to leave, but they overestimate our wish to become American. I think American intelligence needs to collect a lot more information.

Kathleen M. Entwistle,
Scarborough

John Shorten and Mike Frost are both traitors to Canada. Their excuse that they disagreed with CSIS activities is most certainly irrelevant. The only relevant point is that they did not perform their sworn duty to maintain the secrecy that their positions demanded. When these people signed up for duty, they had to know their jobs included the usual level of trust, dedication and confidentiality that is required in other jobs. I am outraged that the media are treating these people as heroes even though they have betrayed their country.

Joan Maclean,
Guelph, Ont.

Canadian content

I read with interest the article "Double in sales" (Business, Aug. 12). For the past two years, a group of us once noted for our compulsive shopping have changed our method of shopping. We now check all labels (food, clothing, etc.) and if they do not plainly specify Made in Canada, we don't buy. There is a growing awareness that if we don't buy Canadian, most of us will soon not have the wherewithal to buy whatever we subscribe to Maclean's because the nation is good, the contents are good and it's Canadian.

L. M. M. Shaw,
Peterborough, Ont.

Infamy in Liverpool

In "When children are victims" (Canada, Aug. 12), it was claimed that the sparsely of two-year-old James Bulger by two 10-year-old boys occurred in Preston, England. The trial was held in Preston, but it is hard to believe that anyone could ever forget that this heinous infamy crime was committed in Liverpool.

David Thomas,
Mississauga, Ont.

Canadian Watergate?

I watched many hours of the cross-examination of Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Jean Beyle, but apparently saw something completely different than Maclean's "Somebody stole a horse" (Canada, Sept. 2). I watched a very articulate, very distinguished Canadian officer, historicist, tactician and leader of men of letters. What you describe as sleazy looks by the general, I would describe as looks of indignation. All this over allegations to documents that CMC reporter Michael McLaughlin later describes as "readily innocuous." The Canadian media have to have their own Watergate where reporters and newsmen are the culprits. It's too bad Canadians have to support their allies.

Bill Doherty,
Dorchester, Ont.

Mixed coverage

Your laudatory coverage of the Tories' policy attempt to simultaneously steal policies from Reform, the Liberals and the NDP ("A Tory swap in the middle of the road," Canada, Sept. 2) was in marked contrast to your relentlessly hostile coverage of Reform's conversion in June. "Somebody stole a horse" (Canada, Sept. 2) was in marked contrast to your relentlessly hostile coverage of Reform's conversion in June. "Somebody stole a horse" (Canada, Sept. 2) was in marked contrast to your relentlessly hostile coverage of Reform's conversion in June.

Joan Maclean,
Guelph, Ont.

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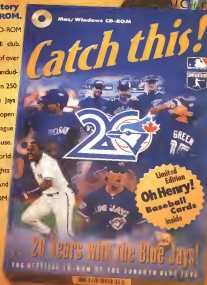
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Column



Diane Francis

It's high time for a national 'refer-end-it'

Like all sick marriages, the only way Canada's unhappy union is going to work is if the participants have the courage to confront the issues directly and clearly. That's why the government of Canada must immediately stage a referendum across this country with the simple question: "Do you want to keep your Canadian citizenship? Yes or No." This is the only way around the badly misused unity question that has dominated Canadian politics for 30 years and injured Canada's economy, reputation and morale.

I call it the "refer-end-it" and I have little doubt that a huge majority of Quebecers, and virtually all non-Quebecers will vote Yes to keep their Canadian citizenship. That would spell the end of separatism because it would pre-empt another referendum based on lies, emotions, propaganda, revised history and a trick question.

The citizenship referendum is valid because it will bring home to all Canadians inside and outside Quebec, that there would be no secession without the vote from Canada. If all or a part of Quebec leaves, the residents of that portion that last left will forfeit their Canadian citizenship and passports. This is something that Lucien Bouchard, Jacques Parizeau and other separatists have fed about to Quebecers.

Faced with the choice of Canadian citizenship or no Canadian citizenship, I would we go that the lion's share of Quebecers would vote Yes to keeping their birthright. In fact, I wouldn't be surprised if the plurality on a direct question would end up as high as 90 per cent. I chose that number because that is the percentage of Canadians who, in a poll, said they thought Canada was the best country in the world.

But that's just a guess and it's as good as, or as useless as, anybody else's guess. By asking for the answer to a direct question, the separatist bluff about leaving will finally be over, once and for all. If the outcome was an overwhelming Yes to keeping citizenship, then the separatist threat would disappear. Trust the separatists could stage another referendum with another trick question (as they have twice), but its results would be meaningless. Also, Quebecers could, down the road, change their minds. But the president would pre-empt separatist efforts in the immediate future. The Parti Québécois would become the francophone version of that Canadian labour party, the New Democrats.

A clear mandate to remain Canadian citizens would eliminate the unquashed perception that the secession goal of separatism is achievable without consequences. It means Bouchard could not use the secession threat to blackmail Ottawa to give Quebec more concessions that it deserves.

Unfortunately, we have had three Quebec-born prime ministers

for three decades who have fallen victim to the blackmail game. They have all believed like Neville Chamberlain and tried to co-opt, bribe or run through unnecessary constitutional deals to satisfy the insatiable separatists. The politics of bribery and blackmail never works because it merely encourages the extremists to increase demands.

The refer-end-it, however, may yield some unexpected results. They may reveal that a few localized portions of Quebec want to leave, namely the rural area between Montreal and Quebec City. If these people do not want Canadian citizenship, then they could open negotiations with Ottawa and the provinces to take their small part of the province out of Confederation. This is the partition option.

On the other hand, if there is an official mass of separatists in a defined geographic area, those who don't want to be Canadian citizens should leave the country—and do every year's census. In other words, those who feel Canada is not a marriage that can be saved should divorce or divorce themselves.

Of course, the refer-end-it would not mean that Canada's marital troubles were over. Obviously, French- and English-speaking Canadians must continue to work hard to understand and appreciate each other's differences. And on top of all of that, Canada's governments must be restructured and reformed, taxes lowered, regulations reduced, deficits eliminated and essential services improved. Trade must be enhanced, international trade tensions diminished, and the creation of wealth encouraged in order to create jobs.

The point is that Canada is like a bad marriage where the spouses are arguing about the symptoms of marital breakdown rather than working on real solutions. The politicians in this country have yet to admit that the underlying problem is an unwillingness to deal with constitutional, cultural, economic and national historical disputes. Even loyal Canadians vote for the separatist Parti Québécois because it is the party of protest in Quebec, and many Quebecers, like many Canadians, are fed up with the fact that most of our governments and politicians are second-rate, manipulative, selfish recluses with our sad duties, greedily, and blind to their demands.

That is what has to be fixed. But nothing can be fixed until the separatist leaders, who claim to represent the spouse who wants to leave out, establish the credibility for their claim to be an outright refer-end-it with a blunt question about citizenship. Until that happens, Bouchard will be able to control this country's national agenda and our basic current Prime Minister, Jean Charest. Bouchard will also be able to continue to misrepresent the October 1995 referendum results to the detriment of every single person living in this wonderful country. The marriage should not be negotiated. But the sick spouse, such as the separatist blackmail and the incompetent leadership, must stop.

Opening Notes



Biggest news, Kennedy (left) and Jack

A clearly Canadian arboral honor

As far as official commensals go, it seems as if a delightfully Canadian visit Ottawa, plus a few. Prince Arthur, one of Queen Victoria's grandsons, started the tradition with a red oak in 1906. Since then, other royalty, like the last seven U.S. presidents, and other heads of state have planted 51 oaks on the 65-acre grounds of Rideau Hall. The disparities are chosen for the arboreal honor by the Governor General's Office and Foreign Affairs while the National Capital Commission selects the trees, including maples, oaks and some douglars. A few have died over the years, but there are no Deny Throats at Government House willing to say who planted them.

Chinese food without fat

When Canadians want to eat healthily, many turn to Chinese food. "I'd like the foreign person usually has Chinese food in a restaurant," says Vancouver chef Stephen Wong, 45. "Restaurant Chinese cooking tends to be quite high in fat and quite high in salt." To provide an alternative, Wong, with the Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada, has released *HeartSmart Chinese Cooking*, the first recipe restaurant in the best-selling *HeartSmart* cookbook series prepared by Anne Lindsay and Renee Stern. In it, the Hong Kong-born Wong presents more than 100 low-fat and low-sodium recipes, which, he says, retain their distinctive flavors while meeting stringent *HeartSmart* guidelines. "It's a great good news for lovers of Chinese food while traditional beef with broccoli, for instance, is cooked with more than two cups of oil, a considerable recipe by Wong's own just over one tablespoon." Very often people think that healthy-looking cooking has to be bland," he says. "That's definitely not the case." *HeartSmart* edition for the 1990s.



Wong, a health conscious approach

Fighting forgery with technology

Some less-than-honest people have found that the easiest way to become a Canadian citizen is simply to paste their own photos over someone else's on the second page of a Canadian passport. But that route will not be open much longer if the passport office has its way. It is undertaking a major overhaul of the Canadian passport, with the hopes of introducing a new forgery-detecting document. Like other nations that have recently updated their passports, the Ottawa office is experimenting with new methods of stonewalling counterfeiters. They include devices like the gold patch on the 50th full-size major color copying difficult, and laser-printed papers. And the team is working on having digital photos printed on the passport to replace the current pasted-in photos. The only good news for fraud artists is that it may take 15 months to bring the new passport to life.

Woods on golf

American golf phenom Tiger Woods' new TV ad campaign for **WORD LOOK** shoe and apparel manufacturer Nike raised the race star as an arrival at the 2001 Canadian Open tournament in Oakville, Ont., last week. The ads make surprising allusion to Woods' 20 as a young U.S. amateur champion, being called out because of his Afro-African-American heritage. From his comments as reporters examined his prominently weighed side of Woods before the competition began.

"I've had some tough experiences growing up. I've been kicked off courses because of my skin color. But I have already made an impact in that area and I will continue to do so." "When you have kids come up to you and say, 'This playing golf because of you,' it's nice to be able to teach people that way." On the topic surrounding his arrival on the pro tour although his father is a professional coach as a dad, he is a strict father. "I wouldn't come out here to watch me play."



Kids and Kool-Aid have gone together

Since the powdered drink mix was first introduced in the 1950s, it has been a '60s and today's youngsters have found a cool new use for Kool-Aid—a hair dye. The wild colors rampant from cherry red to lemon-lime green or purple purple allow kids to make their own hair color. Some stick to just one color, others use a rainbow blend for that Dennis Rodman look. Kool-Aid, which makes Kool-Aid, has decided to comment on the new use of its product, but its popularity as a hair dye is so great that it even has its own Web site, <http://www.koolaid.com/koolaid/koolaid.html>, full of tips on how to help help take the full Kool-Aid effect. Call it the flavor of the month.

The image of a sexy spy gets revamped

The name Mata Hari has become legendary since in 1917 to a prosperous lawyer in Leiden, Netherlands, Margaretha Zelle became an exotic dance sensation when she took to the Paris stage under her chosen name in 1905. But it's because of her activities during the First World War, for which the French said her was a spy in 1917, that she became infamous. In the time, Mata Hari was held responsible for leaking information about the Allies' secret weapon, the tank, to the Germans, for the deaths of 50,000 men on the Western Front and for seducing the Crown Prince of Germany. Since then, many movie stars as Greta Garbo and Marlene Dietrich have added glamour to the legend by playing Mata Hari roles. And even in the past decade, she has been the subject of an opera,

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *White Noise*, Don DeLillo
2. *Remains of the Day*, Hilary Mantel
3. *A Crown of Feathers*, John Grisham
4. *The Teeth*, John Grisham
5. *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Robert Harris
6. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
7. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
8. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
9. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
10. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham

NONFICTION

1. *See, But Not Tell*, David Ford
2. *The Silent Patient*, Lisa Fiedler
3. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
4. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
5. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
6. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
7. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
8. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
9. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham
10. *Red of Teeth*, John Grisham

(Fiction list was compiled by John Grisham)

Turning the tables

Former Toronto elementary school teacher, Mattie Jones, a mother of four, examines the profound effect teachers can have on children in *Shining the Teacher's Light*. A Canadian Parents' Guide to the Book offers comments on advice for evaluating teachers—and what to do when they don't measure up.

Several novels and a soft-core film. But, in fact, little is known about her. The French courtesan in 1919 auctioned off her life story for her courtiers. Still, that has not deterred interest. *Gertrude Stein* of the *Paris Review* in 1905 was the first to establish a permanent exhibition dedicated to the woman's most notorious affairs. In comparison with her, Mata Hari's personal scrapbooks, bought from a private collector, which document her career from 1905 to 1915 through newspaper clippings, sex photographs, and several revealing love letters. "We think we know a lot about her, but she is very unknown, and that's why, I think, we can imagine so much about her," says Woodhouse of Mata Hari's enduring appeal. "Most drastically her role as the seductress, but we are also adding to the myth."

Passages

REVEALED: By South African president Nelson Mandela, 78, is love of his wife, Graca Machel, 50, widow of Mozambique president Samora Machel, who died in a 1986 plane crash. The couple, who said they plan to live together for two weeks of every month, have ruled out marriage. "I like being called Mrs. Machel, it's the only way I can keep my husband alive," said the respected academic and children's rights advocate. But Archbishop Desmond Tutu is among a vocal minority who think the two should wed, expressing concern over the example Mandela is setting for young people. Mandela was married twice before, the second time to the controversial Winnie Mandela, whom he divorced in March.

RELEASED: From hospital, Mother Teresa, 85, after suffering two heart attacks, malaria and pneumonia during her 17-day stay in California. "God will take care of me," she said. The Nobel Peace winner said upon her release, "I've got a lot of work to do."

HURED: As president of the Zellers department store chain, Michael Brown, 47, who had been chief operating officer of the international division of American-based archival, Wal-Mart, in Toronto. Brown spearheaded Wal-Mart's entry into the Canadian market two years ago and an ensuing price war that has led to substantial reductions in Zellers' profits.

OVERTURNED: The account of firebrand businessman *William Shattuck*, 58, on theft charges, by the B.C. Court of Appeal, in Vancouver. The court ruled that Shattuck was guilty of theft involving \$100,000, even though he eventually repaid the money because he intended to return an investor in a real estate deal. The guilty verdict comes six days after the Canadian Football League sued control of Shattuck's on-field leopards B.C. Lions.

GUILTY: Former cancer research fund-raiser *Steve Perry*, 31, of a series of charges including sexual assault, kidnapping, fraud and possession of a stolen vehicle, by his own plea in B.C. provincial court in Vancouver. Perry, who had lost a leg to cancer, was \$12 million during his run across Canada in 1985-1986. He will be sentenced on Oct. 17.

A man with a mission

Quebec's Howard Galganov fights for anglophonrights

Last week, the towers of Parliament Hill—this week, the skyscrapers of Wall Street—under fire by Quebec separatists for his planned trip to New York City to lobby against the Parti Québécois government, Howard Galganov, the province's vocal anglophone rights crusader, begins a day, under fire by critics on his gruelling schedule. Last Wednesday, with several media interviews already under his belt, the 46-year-old advertising executive dashed off to Ottawa to lend his voice to a francophone campaign for bilingual commercial signs in the nation's capital. Later that night, back in Montreal, he met with a group of local residents signing up for a seat on Wednesday's New York-bound bus. "I'm exhausted," Galganov conceded in an interview.

With good reason, given a schedule that includes coping with about 100 faxes and phone calls a day starting around 6 a.m. Although he insists he is speaking out only for himself, his campaign to prevent the English language in Quebec has clearly struck a chord among many anglophones still reeling from last October's tentatively chosen sovereignty referendum. "He is a white knight," said one francophone who signed on for the New York trip.

Given the contentiousness of the language issue in Quebec, Galganov is also being called less flattering things. "Extremist" is another word bandied about. "Imaginist," being called an extremist for wanting equal rights. Galganov responds: "These rights, he insists, are not negotiable—which is why he's turned down a government invitation to appear at national sovereignty hearings that wrapped up last week on proposed amendments to Quebec's French Language Charter. Among the more controversial de-re-establishment of the Commission de protection de la langue française—known derisively as the "language police"—disbanded by the previous Liberal government. The commission will enforce the province's language laws, including Bill 101, the legislation that allows English to appear as commercial signs, but only if French is predominant.

Increasingly, the newly revived debate over language is taking place



Galganov, a 'white knight' to some, an 'extremist' to others

at a time when Quebecers in general have little stomach for it. Currently, Premier Lucien Bouchard has shown little inclination to reopen the issue. Last April, at the PQ's national council meeting, he narrowly defeated a headline push to abolish Bill 101 and return to French-only signs. Still, the PQ has said that it will re-examine the question if the French language, especially in the linguistic belt of Montreal, loses ground to English.

In fact, the mixing tensions stem not so much from the language issue as from the looming prospect of another sovereignty referendum and the possibility of separation. Galganov made headlines last spring when he organized a protest against retailers in a pro-

dominantly English-speaking area of Montreal who posted French-only signs. Since then, the Montreal justice who now lives in suburban St. Laurent, just northwest of the city, has put the rest of his life on hold, leaving his old agency in the hands of his wife and business partner, Anne Now, to let his crusade "fight for Canada." "We're going to tell Americans how well we live together—that Quebec is a wonderful place to invest," he said of his twofold trip to New York, which includes a meeting with media and financial analysts at the prestigious Harvard Club. But he also planned to tell the Americans about the economic costs associated with the threat of separation, and the "institutionalized cultural exclusion" in Quebec, which includes restrictions on the English language and the lack of francophone in the civil service. "I will not be happy until the Parti Québécois is seen for exactly what it is," Galganov said, "an ethnic nationalist party that is devoted to excluding a major portion of its citizens."

Galganov acknowledged that while he would be addressing Americans this week, he would not address them in Quebec. "People sometimes see things twice clearly when the message comes from outside the house," he said. In some circles, the message has already been heard—and derided. Serge Nadeau, the cabinet minister responsible for Montreal, urged Galganov to call off this trip. Sébastien, head of the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Montreal, said that Galganov "says he doesn't want to hurt Quebec, but nonetheless that will happen." And Gilles Rhéaume, vice-president of the pro-independence Mouvement Souverainiste du Québec, announced his own plans to go to New York this week with a small group of francophones to "burn the damage."

Galganov will not be alone on the streets of Manhattan. Montrealer rider Paul Pedicelli is one of about 20 people who signed on to join

him. Galvanized by the referendum, Pedicelli, 50, told Maclean's that, for the first time in her life, she has become politically active. Asked what she hopes to accomplish by going, she said: "Maybe to tell the politicians, 'Enough.'" Also at the meeting to organize the New York walk was Ernest Strohovitch, an accountant once active in Alliance Québec, an anglophone rights lobby group. "Until the October referendum, there was always the false sense that once the bottom thins would get better," he declared. "But when you come within half a percentage point of seeing the whole thing collapse, it's not the same world any more."

It is hard to gauge how widespread the support for Galganov's brand of activism is among Quebec anglophones. (His government's Quebec Political Services has no members.) Some clearly believe that it risks a backlash, and that a different, less confrontational approach is more prudent. Galganov, in fact, says he has received several death threats.) But Montreal lawyer Eric Malloff, founding president of Alliance Québec, says that Galganov is tapping a deep vein of anger. "People are tired of the English-speaking community. Anglophobia is real and equal Quebecers have been put and kept in serious doubt."

With the language issue likely to resurface at the PQ's national congress in November, Galganov will be ready. On that same weekend, he plans to open a clothing store with bilingual signs of equal size—in defiance of the commercial sign law. Does he think that will prompt a backlash at the congress? "I'm praying for it," he says. "I want the premier of Quebec to decide if he's just a separatist person—or if he's a pro-separatist of Quebec." Galganov's phone goes silent, but the man, it doesn't seem to him.

BRENDA BRANNWYLL, in Montreal

THE PQ SAYS NO TO THE COURTS

Quebec City lawyer Guy Bertrand's high-profile legal challenge to Quebec sovereignty has entered a curious phase—the former separatist-turned federalist now finds himself without a court adversary in late August, Bertrand, who has been supported by the federal government, won a victory in his fight to seek an injunction against any future Quebec referendum that could result in a unilateral declaration of succession.

That happened when Quebec Superior Court Judge Robert Poirier ruled against the Parti Québécois government's motion to have the case dismissed. Then last week, Justice Minister Paul Edgar announced that he would not appeal the ruling, stating firmly that the courts have no jurisdiction over Quebec's future—and that the government will not appear in court if Bertrand continues with his legal battle. "The only judge and jury of Quebecers' future is the people themselves," Edgar said.

Bertrand launched the PQ decision to ignore the courts as "a partial declaration of sovereignty." He also said that he has not yet decided whether to proceed with the challenge, in which he argues that a unilateral declaration of Quebec's independence would violate the constitutional rights. In part, his decision depends on Ottawa's continued support, and the federal government initially waded into the case last spring to the chagrin of the PQ. But last week, Ottawa was noncommittal about any future involvement. A spokesman for Justice Minister Allan Rock said that "the law review the decision and make any sort of determination in consultation with his cabinet colleagues—no time has been set yet."

Bertrand appealed to the public to pressure Ottawa into staying with the idea. But the federal government's hesitation is to some degree understandable: continued involvement could fuel arguments by separatists that the political process in Quebec is being subverted by outside forces. Still, the PQ's move may well sway from the courts also left the Quebec government open to criticism. Montreal constitutional lawyer Julius Gény, for one, told Maclean's that while he believes the Bertrand case is premature and too hypothetical, he is being subverted by outside forces. "The PQ's decision is a very weak move," he said. "I can see no excuse for the Quebec government not going to court—you can't just say, 'This suit is judicial.'" Bertrand, meanwhile, has said he will reveal on Sept. 19 whether he intends to abandon the case—or proceed with what may amount to legal shadow boxing.

B-8

The United Church confronts an activist

A dismissal hearing uncovers bitter testimony



Ansett's church dismissed its 'wrong' but now fair

Outside floor-to-ceiling windows, the heavens were, dominating late-summer fog. Inside the two-story church hall, a dozen people took places at long wooden tables arranged to resemble a criminal courtroom. A tribunal of two women and a man sat at one end, their backs to an accordion-style divider. Four people gazed in pairs at a table facing them right before the prosecution and defence. To one side, a photographer held her fingers poised over a short-handled machine and an empty chair waited for the first witness. But instead of a bull's cry of "All rise," Rev. Moly Williams opened proceedings with an invocation to "God, our mother and father," before leading the robes to the Lord's Prayer. That prayer concluded, significantly, with an exhortation to "forgive us, our transgressors, as we forgive those who trespass against us."

Perpetrator, in fact, was not in such evidence at last week's extraordinary hearing in Vancouver. In a six-session trial before a jury of laymen, and supervised by the British Columbia Appeal established by the United Church of Canada heard testimony alone at determining whether one of its ministers, 40-year-old Kevin Ansett, should be

stripped of his ordination. In proceedings repeatedly characterized by racism and discrimination, always representing the Presbytery of Central Vancouver, a church with vision responsible for central Vancouver Island, portrayed Ansett as an unstable maverick who had deeply alienated his last flock, at St. Andrew's United Church in Port Alberni, 65 km northwest of Nanaimo. Ansett, who was represented at the hearing by his mother, a retired businesswoman, and himself in a very different role, as the innocent victim of persecution by a church that had lost its moral bearings. The dispute placed the United Church, widely regarded as among the country's most progressive denominations, in the unfamiliar position of appearing ready to eject a minister from its ranks for being too liberal.

Outside the hearing room, Ansett offered a stinging explanation for what he described as his "wrongful dismissal." He accused the United Church of trying to silence his criticism of those in running residential schools, including one in Port Alberni, where far too many young natives were subjected to sexual and physical abuse. "The church," charged Ansett, "was complicit in that evil. I think they knew that a minister who was

pro-active on this stuff was going to be an embarrassment." Church officials dismissed any link between Ansett's status and his activism on native issues as a "totally false."

By all accounts, Ansett's tenure in Port Alberni began, in July, 1980, with both hope and promise. "He was quite refreshing," recalls Marlene Cook, a St. Andrew's parish member for four decades who was church treasurer at the time. Struck by the extent of poverty in the lonely but rugged region—which relies heavily on forestry—Ansett persuaded his congregation to open a food bank. And he encouraged the area's occasionally marginalized native residents to come to Sunday services. Attendance blossomed from about 40 people to as many as 120 in some weeks.

But the idealistic young minister's social activism soon became a sore point with some of his congregation. As Ansett, ordained in 1980, saw it, "There was this layer of privilege & white people who worked in the mill, and all around them there was a sea of poverty and unspoken wrongs." Attempting to unearth what he calls a "deep apartheid" in the community, Ansett invited former residential school students into the pulpit to recount their experiences of abuse. His own sermons frequently focused on his congregation's responsibilities to the poor.

To many listeners, Ansett's rebarbations grated. "Most of the time he was scolding us," recalls Cook. "I felt that I should feel guilty for my hard work and my effort and my honesty and integrity." At the same time, Cook adds, Ansett devoted little energy to the more traditional pastoral duties of care and assistance to a largely elderly congregation. Within two years of Ansett's arrival, says another member of the church, former Port Alberni mayor Fred Bishop, "there was growing dissatisfaction with Kevin's ministry." In late 1984, the split widened, and on Jan. 8, 1985, Ansett submitted his resignation to the church board, which accepted it.

The following month, the RCMP launched an investigation into complaints of abuse of native youngsters at the United Church-run school in Port Alberni, which closed in 1973, and at a dozen other residential schools run by the United and Roman Catholic churches in British Columbia from the late 19th century until as recently as 1984. Last November, at Ansett's urging, at least one former resident of the Port Alberni school told police her account of residence in the institution between 1945 and 1949. "I was sexually abused there," and Harriet Nabes, who now lives in North Vancouver, "I witnessed a murder there." Ansett's relations with his superiors at the



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CANADA

Consecrated presbytery members, grew increasingly strained. Rather than allow Annett to serve out the somewhat notice that he had given to St. Andrew's on Jan. 8, presbytery officials two weeks later relieved him of his duties. Later, they directed him to take two months in personal reflection—read, undergo a psychiatric evaluation—before he could take up another posting. Those requirements, particularly the psychiatric aspect, incensed Annett, who refused to comply. To church officials, that was further evidence of Annett's personal shortcomings.

The news of his resignation, and a rhetorical attack on his own church included in a public statement last Jan. 1, Annett wrote: "The horror of the United Church ministerial school in Port Alberni involved the rape and murder of native children. The United Church has perpetrated a similar crime upon my family and I by wrongfully dismissing me from my pulpit." He added, "These church officials who have done this are so immersed in their own wrongs, lies and fears that they appear incapable of acknowledging the damage."

By last spring, the Concord-Nanaimo Presbytery had concluded there was no hope that Annett would ever accept its conditions for continued employment. On March 21, the agency recommended that Annett be removed from the church's list of ministers—sending the charges to his own church's hearing. His presbytery lawyer John Benson told the hearing: "The question before this panel is Rev. Kevin Annett's fitness for the ministry." After five days of evidence, he added: "There are very serious concerns about [his] mental balance."

The others are close to Annett's view. In Port Alberni, Middle congregation Krista Lynn asked her last opportunity to speak from St. Andrew's pulpit, early in 1995, to declare: "You're crucifying Kevin because he did what the Lord commanded." And fellow United Church minister Rev. Deacon Grant last week described Annett's Port Alberni ministry as "sermonary." Added Grant: "Kevin has a very deep commitment to the social gospel! That has been a big part of United Church history. Obviously people in his congregation were not committed to that."

At least Fred Bishop and Marlene Cook, among Annett's former parishioners, would give Grant a fight on that point. But with hearings continuing this week, it may be Williams and her panel to decide whether Annett's beliefs represent simple and for long-standing United Church tradition or a more militant and troubling ideology.

CHRIS WOOD in Vancouver

Anthony Wilson-Smith



Backstage Ottawa

Tougher than the rest

One of the things that is not widely known about Jean Chrétien is that he not only desperately hates to lose, but he is equally loathe to admit when he is defeated. In golf, when he hits a bad shot, he will accept the penalty—but he will often then drop another ball and hit it from the same spot, just to prove he can do it properly.

As Prime Minister, his stubbornness has been particularly notable on two occasions. The first, of course, was the Quebec referendum campaign, when he initially refused to admit the strength of the Yes forces, and then lost—in the wake of the marathon dual No victory—appeared to behave as though the entire event had never happened. The second was his refusal, both in public and private, to acknowledge that the other Liberals deceived the public in the run up to the 1993 election campaign when they said they would "tear up" the Goods and Services Tax.

The others who have served the Prime Minister badly on occasion, but overall, it is a plus. For anyone who has ever wondered how a sometimes shy and socially awkward man with a benign problem and practiced smile in two languages could achieve the highest elected office in the land, the secret is that he is far tougher than he chooses to appear in public. For evidence, ask anyone who has ever faced the bracing, chilly prospect of Chrétien in full rage, with voice reduced to a low hum, blue eyes turned distractingly flinty, and language that can pierce point from walls: few people who live through the experience were chosen to do anything to risk his displeasure a second time.

Now, with the House of Commons rumormongering next week and the run-up beginning to a 1997 election, that blood-stained quality is especially worthy of note. In modern Canadian political history, only Brian Mulroney has entered the last year of his first term as prime minister with such complete hold over his party. In his first two

years in office, Chrétien either gauged or swayed the left-wing, and then leaned for the days of Big Government and foreign affairs policies based on something other than trade imperatives. Then, just as the socially conservative Ontario rural caucus was getting lively, he slapped them around by supporting legislation on gun control and stronger new rights protection for gays. When anyone dissented publicly with the plan Chrétien supported, the punishment was just as public: Warren Allmand was stripped of the chairmanship of a parliamentary committee for one such protest, while maverick MP John Nantais was tossed right out of the caucus for another.

But the Prime Minister's absolute hold on caucus seems likely to last little more than another year. No Liberal doubts that they are achieving that, and most understand that the prime reason will be Chrétien's remarkable political skills and popularity. But already on Parliament Hill, government and opposition alike are looking for someone to who will reduce him—

in beginning as to who will reduce him—and when. At 50 years of age, Chrétien is an excellent leader, appears to love his work, and shows no interest in leaving anyone soon. Despite that, a remarkable number of Liberals take for granted that once elected, he will serve only half a second term, and then step down at about 60 years of age. Already around the Hill, it's possible to look at the caucus and find liberal sides and, in some cases, identify who would be for Paul Martin or Sheila Copps or for declining numbers those loyal Allen Rock. Not to mention Brian Tolan or Frank McKenna.

The strength of any political leader reduces, to a large extent, in his or her ability to do things either for people, or to them. Whether by patronage or punishment, part of Chrétien's power resides in his willingness to do both. Where it comes to the question of succession, some Liberals may be better advised to put off until tomorrow what they would rather do today.

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CANADA

Reluctant witnesses

Standing in a friend's backyard in Halifax, Fernando Esteban broke down and sobbed into his handkerchief.

The former quartermaster at the container ship *Masenda* Dubai was telling reporters last week of threats that his family in the Philippines had received since he and three fellow Philippine crew members told Canadian authorities in May of seeing Taiwanese officers dump three Romanian stowaways overboard on the high seas. Esteban, 41, said that after his family's pet dog was run over, an anonymous caller told his wife, "The dog was just an example of what is going to happen to the rest of you if your husband testifies." Warning unapologetic of his wife and three young children, Esteban shouted at the journalists: "How could you risk these children? Tell me! Anybody who could threaten me!"

It was just one more bizarre scene in a case already steeped in intrigue. After the Taiwanese-owned *Dubai* docked at Halifax on May 23, the Filipinos told a wrenching tale of Romanian stowaways begging for their lives before being cast adrift. Acting on behalf of the Romanian government, which has an extradition treaty with Canada, the RCMP stormed the *Dubai* and arrested the seven officers, charging them with first-degree murder. An extradition hearing, which began in Halifax last week, must decide if there is sufficient evidence to justify a trial. If so, the Romanian government is requesting that the officers be sent to Romania to face the charges. At the same time, the Taiwanese government—which Ottawa

does not formally recognize—insisting that the accused be returned to their homeland where the matter would then be investigated and dealt with. The final decision is up to federal Justice Minister Allan Rock, who may accept or ignore the hearing's findings.

But those hearings got off to a rocky start when Rodolfo Miguel, the first of the Philippine crew members to be called to testify, refused to swear in. "It's not that I don't want to testify," Miguel told News Canada Supreme

Key players in the stowaway murder case decline to testify

Court Justice Michael MacDonnell. "I just want everyone to know my family is under death threats back home." Outside the court, Miguel showed reporters what appeared to be a copy of a report by police in Manila describing a failed attempt by three men to force his wife into a car in mid-August. The report also stated that Miguel's 13-year-old daughter had been followed by two men.

Going Miguel dare to reconsider, MacDonnell ordered him to return to court this week. But late last week, Miguel still appeared willing to risk being cited for contempt of court for refusing to testify unless his wife and five children are brought to Canada. "If protecting your family is illegal," he told reporters, "I'll go to jail with them."

Philippine captain Esteban (left) comforted by Miguel. Threats against family members?

The other Philippine crew members, criminal witnesses all, followed suit. Their refusal to testify left Justice officials scrambling, and once tongues began flapping and lawyers of the accused Taiwanese officers and that the deadlock amounted to little more than a play by the crown to advance their overriding interest: their refugee claims. All four Filipinos are seeking refugee status in Canada, claims they insist stem exclusively from the threat posed to them because of their involvement in witnessing events on the *Dubai*.

Even if they ultimately secure the testimony of the Philippine witnesses, federal lawyers face some daunting challenges. Defense lawyers plan to argue that the judge cannot grant Romania's extradition request because Taiwanese ship captain Cheng Shau and his officers—who are currently free on bail—cannot be classified "fugitives from Romanian justice." The alleged murders took place off the coast of Spain, on a vessel sailing under a Taiwanese flag. Said one lawyer close to the proceedings: "Any international law I'm aware of says that would be a little place of Taiwan."

Taiwan is intensely interested in the matter for several reasons, not least of which is the stark prospect of seven Taiwanese nationals being shipped off to face a dubious system of justice in Romania. Then, there is the Taiwanese government's direct ownership stake in Yang Ming Marine Transport Corp., which owns the *Masenda* *Dubai*. (Yang Ming is now the owner of a lawsuit by the families of two of the alleged murder victims.) Finally, the arrests cast an unwelcome spotlight on Taiwan's tenuous status in the international diplomatic community.

Following the Philippine resistance last week, federal lawyer James Martin called three surviving Romanian witnesses, who gave evidence that they saw two of the alleged victims board the *Dubai* in Algiers, Spain, during two separate voyages in March and May and that the men later disappeared. One of the witnesses, Nicolas Ponce, 23, also recalled being discovered by a Philippine crewman in May and warned to get back on shore. "He looked afraid," said Ponce, and told me that the Chinese would cut your throat "if they caught him."

The Romanian witnesses added another layer of irony to the already unusual proceedings. Like the three missing stowaways, each of them wanted one thing—refuge in Canada. And they pleaded their lives in desperate attempts to crawl aboard a vessel that might deliver them. But on this day, at least, they found the grounded and powerless government lawyers in their promised land earnestly acting on behalf of the state they had met to bind to free.

MIKE MACDONELL is in Halifax



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Canada NOTES

A PASSPORT SCAM

The RCMP announced it had cracked a felony ring that produced counterfeit documents used by thousands of people to enter Canada illegally. Police arrested a 35-year-old Montreal man, identified only as a relative of Ed Levesque, after undercover officers bought more than 200 forged documents intended for use in falsifying Canadian passports. The fake copies were of the passport page that lists a person's biographical information.

STORMY WEATHER

Damages were expected to be in the millions of dollars after an intense storm cut through Manitoba. Hail fell in a 53-km stretch of highway between Winnipeg and Grosse Pointe, where a dozen three-ton steel hydro towers were destroyed by winds as high as 120 km/h.

TEMAGAMI DUSTUP

Provincial police used sledgehammers to pry loose environmental activists chained to concrete slabs and placed more than 20 demonstrators under arrest for blocking a road to an old-growth pine forest in the Temagami region of Northern Ontario. The on-going dispute also resulted in a bomb blast last month, which damaged a bridge that logging trucks used to cross the Temagami River.

MORIN HAS HIS SAY

Guy Paul Morin told a commission of inquiry in Toronto—headed by retired Quebec Superior Court Judge Fred Kaufman—that he was relieved that a public examination of his wrongful conviction for murder was finally under way. Morin was acquitted of the killing of Christine Jewett, his nine-year-old neighbor in Queensville, Ont., in 1976, but was convicted after an appeal in 1992. He was cleared 20 months ago by new DNA evidence.

TOO SLOW FOR DUBIN

Jewish groups expressed hope that courts will speed up future proceedings against accused neo nazis even after Charles Dubin, Ontario's former chief justice, issued a report critical of the justice system's foot-dragging in such cases. Dubin was asked by Ottawa to examine why previous attempts to revoke the citizenship of three accused neo nazis came to nothing.



Direction: more Quebec jobs in spite of warnings by Ottawa

Quebec bounces back

Prime Minister Jean Chretien appeared to suffer a setback in his attempt to convince Quebecers that their continued focus on sovereignty and language tensions would mean more lost jobs. At a Liberal function in Edmonton on Aug. 17, Chretien warned the province that it needs "to work on jobs and to create a proper climate for having growth, because the unemployment in Quebec relative to the rest of Canada is deteriorating at this moment and they need peace on that front." But according

to Statistics Canada figures released last week, Quebec gained 41,000 jobs in August—a month dominated by seasonally charged industries over the language of co-official status in the province. Despite the strong showing, however, the gains only partly offset Quebec's loss of 70,000 jobs in June and July. Across the country, Statistics Canada said, the national unemployment rate in August stood at 9.4 per cent, down from 9.6 per cent in July and 10 per cent in June. The federal agency estimated there were 65,000 more jobs in August compared with the previous month. Employment gains for the first eight months of the year totalled 252,000, all full-time jobs. But not all observers were impressed. Bob White, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, and almost six years of unemployment rates that exceeded nine per cent was unacceptable. The Liberal government, White said, has done little to reduce unemployment, and has allowed "a long unemployment period to extend to proportions second only to the Great Depression in duration."

JUSTICE

Blood and AIDS

Lawsuits for the families of two people who died of AIDS after receiving tainted blood injected by the Red Cross Society of Montreal in the Ontario Court of Appeal Division. In opening statements, they stated that the Red Cross failed to properly screen blood in the 1980s. Alvin Wilbur Duncan, B.C., was involved in 1983. His jewel theft by a private sector, Montreal, Ontario, he was given 31 units of plasma in 1985 after being diagnosed with a neurological disorder. Both died in 1993. Those families claim that if the two gay men, whose life insurance was given to Ontario and Wilbur had been warned they were in a high-risk group, they would have declined to give blood. But defence lawyer Peter Bonaldi says the Red Cross did all it could, and accused the families of relying on "the purified vision of hindsight."

Every parent's nightmare

Parents in the middle-class neighborhood of Burnaby, B.C., were shocked to learn that a well-known and respected principal, William Bennett, 52, had been charged with molesting and possessing child pornography. Police could not immediately say whether any of the children from his school, Chalmers Elementary, appeared in the videos. Following a brief court appearance in



Bennett charged

Vancouver, Bennett's lawyer, Peter Leach, told reporters his client, who remained in custody over the weekend, is "disturbed and unhappy." Bennett was also charged with sexual assault, sexual touching and paying someone to have sex. The charges relate to two male victims, one of whom is a minor.

The school board immediately suspended Bennett, a teacher in the Burnaby system for 25 years and a principal for 12. Police said their investigation, which has drawn in dozens of officials from several agencies, is still in its early stages. For his part, Gerry Dietrich, deputy school superintendent, said the staff "are just absolutely in a state of shock. They can't believe any of this."



**'OUR ACTIONS HAVE NOT
LEFT THE REGION ANY MORE
SECURE'—A U.S. OFFICIAL**

Why Saddam Won

For a short while last week, it seemed as if the spirit of Desert Storm was alive and well. Once again, there were powerful images of cruise missiles launched in the dead of night from American warships and streaking towards targets in Iraq with what U.S. strategists ineptly described as "pinpoint accuracy." Once again, the President solemnly proclaimed from the White House that Saddam Hussein, the man Americans love to hate above all others, had been duly punished for his transgressions—this time, sending his troops to crush Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq. And once again, Saddam himself was back on the world stage with his own inimitable rhetoric. "The aggressors have come again with their cowardly and humiliating red," he told his people. "It will be a glorious day for the Iraq people will write down for the aggressors. It will be a day of coming in history."

But the echoes of 1990 and 1991, when Saddam invaded Kuwait and was then expelled by a massive U.S.-led coalition, obscured more than they revealed. For while president George



**ANDREW PHILLIPS
IN WASHINGTON**

Bush's Desert Storm campaign successfully stopped Saddam from securing Western supplies, the attack launched last week by his successor, Bill Clinton, was much more sound. But

at Clinton's order, American aerial strikes and B-52 bombers launched 44 cruise missiles at military targets in southern Iraq, and extended the so-called no-fly zone for Iraqi aircraft to the southern suburbs of the capital, Baghdad. Just once the smoke had cleared and the rhetoric died down, there was a growing reluctance, even among some inside the U.S. administration, that it was Saddam who emerged from his latest confrontation with Washington as the clear winner. That view was widespread among independent analysts as the 50-hour Iraqis' incursion into what is still officially known as the Kurds' "safe haven" in northern Iraq became better known. "Saddam won—we lost," Joshua Mierowicz, a foreign policy specialist at the conservative American Enterprise Institute in Washington, told bluntly. "He looked stronger than he's been, and we looked weaker." A state department official, who asked that his name not be used, told *Maclean's* that by attacking in southern Iraq rather than striking at the Kurds that Saddam used against the Kurds in the north, the United States sent him a clear signal that it is concerned only about the security of oil supplies from Kuwait and other Persian Gulf states, and does not care much about what he does inside his own borders. "We've not demonstrated a lot of courage," said the official. "Our actions have not left the region any more secure. Saddam has gotten away with it."

And a Portuguese official who speculates on Middle East policy made a similar point in even stronger language. "I'm ashamed," he told *Maclean's* bluntly. "In the Middle East, you either get it done to you, or you do it to someone else. It's a rule thing. We essentially did nothing to Saddam, nothing. We showed weakness. That will

Saddam (left). Clinton lost, we're a striking number of allies failed to support the U.S. president



be seen in Iraq as shameful to Mr. Clinton."

Of course, Clinton and his officials put out an entirely different version of events last week. On Saturday, Aug. 31, while riding a campaign bus through Tennessee, the President gave the address that U.S. forces to strike Iraq in retaliation for Saddam's decision to send about 20,000 of his Republican Guard troops to help war-torn Kurdish factions against its chief rivals. Tuesday morning, the first wave of 27 American cruise missiles struck Iraq's aircraft factories and radar installations at four sites in the southern part of the country, hundreds of miles from where Saddam's troops had attacked the Kurds in the northern town of Irbil. Around 2 a.m. on Wednesday, three U.S. navy surface vessels and a submarine in the Persian Gulf launched a second wave of 17 missiles at the same targets. Most of the targets were destroyed, but Saddam's key command-and-control bunkers in the area were not affected. The Americans also extended the no-fly zone imposed on southern Iraq in 1991 from the 32nd parallel north to the 33rd parallel, denying Saddam's air force the use of two key bases. And the United Nations froze an agreement to let Iraq export \$2.7 billion worth of oil in order to buy food and medicine.

Clinton's verdict on the U.S. action was unambiguous, and predictable. "Our mission has been achieved," he declared. Saddam, he added, is "unhappily more off," and he "knows there is a price to be paid for stepping over the line." But the President's growing chorus of critics quickly pointed to three things the effect on what he led the coalition put Iraq over for Bush as seen in Iraq in 1991, the timing of the American action, and where it was aimed.

Swains against the extreme coalition partners were immediately evident. Five and a half years ago, the United States agreed to strike an extraordinary array of countries against Saddam, including all Western nations. Russia, Turkey, many Arab states including such traditional American adversaries as Syria, and a host of others. This time, only Britain, Germany and Canada offered instant political support for Clinton's action. Prime Minister Jean Chretien, on a golf vacation in Florida, issued a statement calling the American action "a measured and clear response" to Iraq's move against the Kurds and later spoke to the President by phone.

More striking, though, was the number of countries that failed to offer support—or condemned the American strike outright. Russia strongly opposed it, saying again that Clinton was motivated more by U.S. electoral politics than by any concern for the Kurds. France, which helps to patrol the southern no-fly zone, expressed a diplomatic "anxiety" about the action, and said its warplanes will stay south of the 32nd parallel. Turkey, once headed by its first Islamic fundamentalist prime minister, denied permission for the Americans to use their airbase at Incirlik in southern Turkey for action against Iraq. Jordan, where King Hussein is under fire at home for rising bread prices, told the Americans that it would not allow

threw to station fighter aircraft there to help enforce the no-fly zone.

Even Saudi Arabia, whose ruling family is increasingly under pressure from fundamentalists opposed to U.S. Western influence, including the continued presence of U.S. forces in the kingdom, stayed silent. Some of those countries, American officials insisted, quietly applied action against Iraq—but 579 years after Desert Storm, it does not pay them to contradict to say so. As the United Nations too, there was dissent. Unlike in 1990, last week the United States acted unilaterally, and it needed a dubious legal basis for its attack. UN Security Council Resolution 688, adopted in April 1991, demands that Iraq and its repression of the Kurds—but gives no explicit authorization for aggression. It's clear not.

The sequence of events leading up to Clinton's order to attack also speaks volumes. All the week went on, American intelligence officials made clear they had missed repeated warnings that growing tension between the two main Kurdish groups in northern Iraq was building toward a crisis. One group, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Mesopotamia, felt more and more pressure by the rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, led by Jalal Talabani. The two groups have frayed for a generation over ideology, territory and power, and Talabani's group had seized control of Iraq from Baathist forces. Wars, Talabani was accepting and Iraq's Baathist arch-enemy, Iraq, and on Aug. 17 his fighters launched new attacks on Baathist forces.

That prompted Saddam to do the previously unthinkable he turned for help to Saddam Hussein, who in 1988 renounced at least 5,000 Kurds with poison gas in the town of Halabja, and in 1991 sent tens of thousands of Kurds fleeing into the mountains along the border with Turkey. Baathist Iraq's message to Saddam, according to his handlers as "your excellency" and manager help to protect Talabani's supporters from Iraq. On Aug. 26, the CIA told the Clinton administration that it was "pretty convinced" that Saddam was moving troops north, toward Kurdistan.

Two days later, on Wednesday, Aug. 28, the CIA repeated its warning—this time, according to an agency official, "unambiguously."

On that day, however, Clinton had many other things on his mind, and some of those involved the Middle East. He was approaching Chicago for his 20th Century Congress campaign trail and putting the Pentagon's war on Iraq on his agenda.

Clinton had many other things on his mind, and some of those involved the Middle East. He was approaching Chicago for his 20th Century Congress campaign trail and putting the Pentagon's war on Iraq on his agenda.



Rageful rally: the pervasive presence of Saddam's secret police makes dissent risky

receiving the first reports that his most important political adviser, Dick Morris, was about to be dismissed in a sex scandal (Morris resigned the next morning). Clinton's personal security adviser Anthony Lake, told the President that the Baghdad crisis in Iraq could be headed off only by decisive action. In fact, according to an official close to Lake, Clinton's political advisers wanted Iraq off the agenda—at least until the end of the Chicago convention.

As a result, the President authorized a diplomatic warning to

CRUDE'S RISE

What was the real cost of the U.S. missile strikes on Iraq? For Canadian motorists, you may run out to be a cost a lot for gasoline. In the wake of the dramatic, benchmark crude oil prices jumped more than \$1 (US) a barrel, into the \$23-\$24 range. That would translate into one cent at the pump if it holds for a while. In the longer term, over a couple of months, if you see the price of crude oil increasing steadily, you're going to see that reflected in the price of gasoline," said Richard O'Hare, a media relations officer with Toronto-based Imperial Oil.

Beyond the initial speculative jump from the attacks, the ongoing tension between the United States and Iraq will also have an impact on world oil supplies. Under a deal with the United Nations, Iraq was scheduled to begin selling 600,000 to 700,000 barrels per day to pay for \$2.7-billion worth of badly needed food and medical supplies. Analysts anticipated that with Iraq oil



available for the first time since the end of the 1990 Gulf War, along with new supplies from the North Sea, prices could fall to \$18 or \$19 (US) a barrel. Without the Iraq oil, supplies are expected to remain tight, and prices firm—including at the gas pump.

WAR AND PUNISHMENT

SEPT. 5: Turkish warplanes launch Iraqi missile, claiming it is the only Iraqi missile to hit Baghdad. Turkey says it will establish a "no-fly zone" in Iraq's no-fly zone.

SEPT. 4: A U.S. F-16 fighter jet shoots down an Iraqi radar plane in western Iraq that had broken into the no-fly zone, after a previous U.S. attack.

SEPT. 4: Two Iraqi MiG fighters approach the newly expanded no-fly zone from the north, but turn back when observed by U.S. planes.

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point out, is that it happens to weaken American commitment to the Kurds and to maintaining their safe haven. "It's not as we've given the right signals here," said William G. Bush, a longtime official at the U.S. National Security Council who now teaches foreign policy at the University of Virginia. "We should have worked harder at making the Kurds safe, have a better place, and improve the fact-finding effort. If they felt they could get real support from us, they wouldn't have felt tempted to make dirty deals with Saddam. Let's face it, it's not easy to be a Kurd. They can't escape the geography."

All that also sends out unfortunate messages to American and Western allies in the Middle East. Myhrum of the Pentagon Policy Research Institute argues that one of Saddam's responses to last week's attack will be renewed terrorism. "Saddam is vengeful and vicious," he said. "He'll be in a position to launch terror attacks on the United States, and then his agents will be in the Middle East. The United States can't protect itself. How do you think it's going to protect you?"

David Lee, Saddam had already managed to strengthen his position, despite UN-sponsored sanctions that have impoverished his people. The expanded as if some were willing to weaken his grip at home, he could make his air force a base, looking instead to his Republican Guard ground troops. Syria's Assad says that no one has anyone been turned out to be less significant than our own thought. Last year, two men were delivered to Jordan in a move that Western leaders welcomed as an indication of Iraq's inner crisis. But they returned to Baghdad earlier than year and asked their father-in-law for forgiveness, instead, they were executed. And there are no signs that the Iraqi military, once which Saddam looked to as a source of ordinary citizens' soldiers, as anything but loyal to its leader.

In Baghdad last week, support for Saddam seemed as strong as ever—although the pervasive presence of his secret police makes any sign of dissent normally rare. The Iraqi media stressed the triumph in the alliance once armed against the country, and as delivery Iraqis look more bitter at that. "People feel that the assault on the outside world is no longer as arbitrary as it used to be, and that is encouraging," said shop owner Wafiq Husein told Al-Monitor in Baghdad. "They are not happy, but this attack is a promise that we have seen. Iraqis will live through this assault as they have lived through all previous ones."

Regular broadcasts on the once-rusted Iraqi television, including the post-attack showing of, possibly, the American missile hitting a grain chamber in a Baghdad suburb, were seen by a few. On Wednesday night, Baghdad residents heard the rattle of Saddam's air-attack and looked out anxiously for incoming cruise missiles. Iraqi television claimed the city and other locations outside the no-fly zone had been attacked by U.S. forces, and

showed signs of alleged damage and injuries. American officials immediately denied involvement. "It wasn't us," said one. International observers in Baghdad suggested that Saddam had deliberately put on the show and the damage was caused by his own anti-aircraft artillery.

Many people in the capital showed quiet satisfaction that Kurds had moved Baghdad to defend them against another Kurdish group backed by Iraq's archrival, Iran. Soon after Iraqi television announced the troop movements in the north, it played Kurdistan's popular music, and showed pictures of holiday resorts in the lush valleys of Irbil province—sending out the unmistakable message that Kurdistan would eventually be brought back under Baghdad's control. One political observer in the capital, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that the Kurds' move to Baghdad was

tering 40° C. heat, noted unambiguously "I am satisfied that the Kards have begun to re-enter the national fold of Iraq."

For Clinton, the political calculations involved in last week's attacks may well pay off. The American action was the main reason that the President could have ordered in a wave of accusations that Iraq was fabricating a stand-up to aggressive U.S. Bob Dole, his inhaling Republican challenger, began complaining before the crisis broke out that Clinton was not providing strong leadership in the Middle East. But since the re-

lost even that line of attack. As tradition dictates, he quickly leapt up behind the commander-in-chief, endorsing Clinton's actions. Still, it could not have been easy for Dole. He has made much of his Second World War service, and has not disavowed his contempt for Clinton's maneuvering in the late 1960s to avoid being drafted at the start of the Vietnam War. Hinting suddenly—however ineffectually—allowed Clinton to counter any lingering image he may have as a turnips policy lightweight only eight weeks before election day.

Not that he needs much help in that direction. The latest opinion polls last week gave him a lead of anywhere between 10 and 14 points over Doir, a gap that no challenger has ever been able to overcome so close to the vote. And the first soundings of public opinion after the Iraq attack found overwhelming support for the President's action. By shipping Soldiers Home on the wrist, Clinton may not have done anything to diminish the dictator's chances of long-term survival. But he sure he enhanced his own.

Paul WILLIAM LONTNER is Washington
MARGARET SWANSON is Dagbladet and
E. ADOLF ELTON is Oricon

AN ELUSIVE KURDISH HOMELAND

In the early days of May, 1991, Ahmed Mohammed came home from the mountains. He brought his father down from a refugee camp high in the hills that mark the border between northern Iraq and Turkey, and back to the Kurdish town of Zakho, from where they had fled a month before. They found their home ransacked by Iraqi soldiers, its front door smashed, its rooms stripped almost bare. "We have nothing left," he told a Canadian visitor at the time with a grin evocative of his father's experience. If the Iraqi returned, Mohammed said with a shrug, his family would simply have to flee back into the mountains. "It is our fate."

Then, the West rushed to shelter them from Saddam Hussein, and the Kurds served for a brief time as international poster children for victims around the world. Five years later, their sorry fate is still to be pawed in the squabbles of people fortunate enough to have states of their own. With 33 million people scattered throughout a crescent of land that includes parts of

Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Kurds are the largest minority in the world that does not have its own independent homeland. And it is likely to stay that way, says Dr. Charles McDermott, professor of international relations at Florida International University in Miami, notes "None of the states in the region would want to see any success in terms of Kurdish auton-

Even more depressing for the Iraqis is that their own leaders have failed time and again to achieve unity in

their own ranks. Their two main political groups have been fighting for a greenaway, reflecting personal, social and economic divisions. The Kurdish Democratic Party, led by 50-year-old Massoud Barzani, was founded in 1946 by its support. Massoud's drive comes of its support from rural, semi-feudal areas of northern and northwestern Iraq including Mohammedan's town of Zakho on the border with Turkey. The Piroon Union of Kurdistan, led by Juhid Talibani, began in 1975 as a breakaway group from the KDP. Although internal feuding has been going on for almost a decade before that, the PUK is now slowly finding most of its support in more southerly urban areas, and is organised along the lines of a modern political party, in contrast to the largely tribal structure of the KDP.



The two parties have fought off and on since the 1970s. They came together briefly in 1991 in the wake of the Gulf War. Once the U.S.-led coalition established its so-called no-fly zones over Kuwait and northern Iraq, the KDP and PUK co-operated in operations in the following year, which the KDP narrowly won. (Hannan actually gave his most active combat in the war, Kurdish, against

of good feelings did not last long by mid-1994. Barzani and Talabani were back beating up on each other, largely over which group would control revenues from the lucrative smuggling trade through northern Iraq and into Turkey.

Talabani's PUK eventually got the upper hand, partly with support from neighboring Iran. It won control of the town of Kirkuk, which proved to be the

flash point in the latest conflict. The United States brokered a ceasefire in August, 1994, but attempts to arrange more permanent settlements early this year were not successful—in part because the Americans did not come up with promised funding for a ceasefire slot to oversee an agreement. Then on Aug. 17, open fighting broke out and the Kurds soon found themselves once again where they have sadly become ac-

A.P. with SHONHEI (H) is Taiwan



Dawson with Cibaon four years: attitudes change



ally, who were being advised by the president, and by Bill Clinton. The Nurses' pact, did not even cause a problem in Florida, but went through his office in Washington. I was a "senior advisor" and, even again, there were "fact-checkers"—although Al the Black Godfather and I were. He informed Clinton on Tuesday that what he "the PM's position" was "not sitting."

Why the apparent U-turn after all the 1991 attack on black-and-white relations? Had unveiled a tremendous repeated warnings to return and peaceful resolution was the best solution, during an election campaign. But, Clinton's decision to leave the debate in the issue was whether Clinton's military option, and, in any case, this time, they're involved in six more three in a Baghdad based decision between and three of Clinton's border.

There is not all that has been, was his presidential in-

by—and agreeing to allow administration to use bombing attacks, as well as to lodge from a road, he issued a statement in which he said that the "necessary" step was a public debate in the party, first in telephone town hall parties in all 10 Bob Mills at 7 p.m., which he described as "unannounced" later.

On Liberal policy? Al Fraq was a far more local place after his country and ignored war. This time, the leader said, while the campaign, was all two different ways, the different war. In 1994, the world would participate in the war, thereby put Canadian troops in the war, only Canadian troops in the war, the military, the army control over the war, the war in the war.

On Al Clinton, the attack on the war, the war in the war.

A FRIEND IN NEED

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

Does any of it sound familiar? A U.S. president with an image as a mediator on domestic issues declares that Iraq's Saddam Hussein, the world's best-known reigning despot, is making history. The American leader, bemoined by new popularity at home as a result, prepares for decisive action against Iraq, and begins searching for allies abroad. Canada's Prime Minister, told of those actions in advance, immediately offers his government's backing, without holding a parliamentary debate or informing more than a handful of cabinet members. tiny.cc/meyarwte

Will Canada pay off its U.S. debt?

But political posturing, as any student of realpolitik knows, is always more easily conducted from the opposition benches. So last

government adviser on foreign affairs, "it would be wrong to presume that no other country is acting for partisan reasons."

The other big difference is in Chetani's background. In January 1991 he was a newly elected and largely untested leader. He proved an unwitting pro to a party whose MPs owed him nothing. His attempt to seek the middle ground—somewhere between condemning and condoning actions against Iraq—was classic Chetani strategy, but poorly executed. His long-standing lack of interest in international affairs showed, as did his lack of control over the party. MPs acted as they saw fit in every direction on the issue, ranging from sharp criticism of military action by Anwarotti and left-wing MP Warren Aldous to one note, to full support by right-wingers.

As well, Clinton has discovered the importance of making nice with the White House. Before becoming prime minister, he often said contemptuously that, unlike Bush, Clinton he would not be found "talking with the president." True, but in the case of 1993, he and Clinton were going in the same direction in October, 1995, he had made up much of the fact that, in his first official letter to Clinton, he crossed out the word "friend" and had written "Dear Bob," and instead wrote "Dear Mr. President." In effect, he has learned one of the most critical lessons for a prime minister: the important thing is not what you call an American president, but whether, when you speak him, he will call you back.

With E. KATE FULTON on *Odyssey*

ECHOS OF DESERT STORM

Hindsight, they say, is twenty-two years. Nearly six years after the U.S.-led Operation Desert Storm forced Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to pull his troops out of Kuwait, it has become ever more apparent that what was viewed as a near-perfect victory in February 1991, created many loose ends—both in the Middle East and in the United States. "We left unfinished business that will continue to haunt us until the U.S. government arrests more Iraqi and Iranian troops," says Yehya Sedewski, a senior fellow at Washington's Brookings Institution. "This pot has been on simmer here for five years."

Saddam is still in power. Fighting rages among the Kurds. And investigations have shown that the army misled the public. In the most exhaustive study yet on the Desert Storm air campaign, Congress's spending watchdog, the General Accounting Office, reported in July that the Pentagon's portrayal of "smart" bombs guided by computers and lasers was "overstated, misleading, inconsistent with the best available data, or unavailable."

In the hectic and jubilant days after the end of the Gulf War, president George Bush's administration chose to get out of Iraq quickly.

There was little planning on how to put the region back together, experts say. In Bush's enthusiasm to see the leaders "as we did order" and by the only remaining superpower after the Soviet collapse, he prematurely believed he had stopped the man he called the new "Hitler," says Brookings' Sedewski. "George Bush was confused he had ended the Vietnam War and again achieved American preeminence," he says.

At the time, despite Bush's tough Gulf War rhetoric, removing the Iraqi dictator was not a priority—said yet Saddam's obvious provocations have made him enter a U.S. grid in the years since. Reports after the war also show that Saudi intelligence convinced the U.S. government that an internal coup against Saddam was imminent. That led subsequent speculation about Saddam's demise have proved wrong. Inside opponents have repeatedly plotted to overthrow Saddam since 1992—spurred by the deepening Saudi oil embargo under the economic embargo—but the Iraqi leader has ruthlessly reined them out. Ultimately, the boycott has hit civilians the hardest: malnutrition has claimed the lives of more than 500,000 children since the Gulf War ended. "Although the children are starving, Saddam's voracity still remains fed," says Sedewski. Further, the 1991 resolution of the war failed to address future security for the entire Gulf region, especially Saudi Arabia, and the volatile reign of Iraq, should Saddam fall.

In the United States, the lingering glow of the 1991 victory has virtually guaranteed overwhelming support for new air strikes against Iraq, such as this last week. And yet much of the initial elation has been tempered by information detailing what Wash-



U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia in 1990: misleading claims by the Pentagon

ington portrayed as a near-victorious victory. The federal government has handed out \$810 million in compensation to many of the 30,000 soldiers who have sought help for Gulf War syndrome, a condition and numerous due to nerve damage that scientists now believe was caused by a mixture of an insecticide gas pills soldiers took, insect repellent sprayed on uniforms, and pesticides used routinely during the war. Controversy has also arisen over deaths by "friendly fire" of the 35 American and nine British soldiers mistakenly killed by U.S. warplanes. The military initially claimed three of the Americans were killed by Iraqi soldiers—a scandal that inspired the movie *Crush Gear Five*. As well, an accurate figure of Iraqi casualties has never been released. Estimates range from 2,000 Iraqi soldiers to as many as 100,000, and from a few hundred to tens of thousands of civilians killed.

Of that, the U.S. military clearly exaggerated its claims about the high-tech precision bombing that was designed to spare both allied and Iraqi lives. At one point, the air force told Congress the Saudi bomber had an 85-percent success rate on the Gulf War runs, when in fact the figure was closer to 40 percent. The Pentagon claimed a 96-percent success rate for cruise missiles, leaving the figure on how many were successfully launched from their tubes—out how many hit their targets.

After overrunning more than 100 pilots and claiming a million pounds of stolen data, the General Accounting Office found that weapons, clouds, fog and humidity had upset the actions of laser-guided missiles, so that other choices "dumb" bombs were still essential to the air campaign. "Actual conditions are not like a test site in California or even last week's raid, where we control the skies and can wait for good weather and the right lighting," said a GAO researcher who asked not to be named. And yet the Pentagon has used the Gulf War experience to justify an \$80-billion investment in guided-missile technology. Only eight percent of the enormous Iraq campaign dropped in the Gulf was guided, but the price represented 49 percent of the total munitions cost, says the GAO report, which urges the department of defense to reassess the proportion it will spend on smart and dumb bombs. With postwar questions about Gulf War syndrome, deaths due to friendly fire, and the actual cost of Iraqi deaths, Americans have been forced to reconsider the human cost of the Gulf War as well.

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340-1099, 340-1100, 340-1101, 340-

The president is seriously ill after all

Yeltsin's heart condition increases uncertainty

It is yet another comeback attempt by Boris Yeltsin. Ending months of secrecy and speculation about his health, a visibly weakened Russian president appeared in a brief, heavily edited television interview last week and confirmed what everyone already suspected: that he has a serious heart problem. Yeltsin, whose ages have been floating for months that he was

merely 60, revealed that he will undergo a by-pass operation in Moscow before the end of the month. His clearly hoping that the progress of foreign-trained Russian cardiac surgeons proves to be correct; they are promising a complete recovery and a return to a full work schedule about two months after the operation. In a break with traditional Kremlin secrecy, Yeltsin, 65, accompanied his disclosure with a startling plea for openness: "I want to have a society based on truth here," he said. "That means no more hiding what we need to do." But his belated admission only heightened the political uncertainty in Moscow and intensified speculation on the key issue in Kremlin power politics now: who will rule Russia in Yeltsin's absence or death?



Yeltsin during TV interview; a by-pass operation scheduled for this month

former general, and Yeltsin's chief of staff, Anatoly Chubais, have sought to fill the power vacuum left by Yeltsin's illness and absence over the past few months.

That inner-circle triumvirate of Chernomyrdin, Lebed and Chubais has furnished in a hazy court atmosphere in which Yeltsin has maintained his supremacy by shifting his favor among the competing factions. All three bring to the game a measure of skills and loyalties. Chubais's fate is most closely tied to that of Yeltsin. At 41, the hard-pumped former cabinet minister who launched Russia's controversial privatization program now has control over the stream of decrees that issue forth from the president's office bearing Yeltsin's signature. Chubais is known as one of Russia's most efficient administrators and political organizers—a reputation most recently

bestowed the redbrick walls of the Kremlin. Though, Chubais is widely disliked because of a privatization drive that has largely concentrated former state enterprises in the hands of a few well-connected businessmen and former officials. That will likely keep Chubais from formally bidding for the presidency, although he could continue to do well as a Kremlin power broker.

Better placed is Chernomyrdin, the former director of Gazprom, a state gas monopoly, who denies that the privatization of Gazprom has made him a rich man. The erstwhile Soviet bureaucrat has become a cautious advocate of capitalist reform during his four years as Yeltsin's right-hand man. He has been unwaveringly loyal to Yeltsin, despite his boss's occasional harsh criticism of his work. Kremlin sources say that it was Chernomyrdin's counsel that eventually convinced Yeltsin to go public about his health problems. The partly 56-year-old prime minister reminded Yeltsin that he had undergone a similar operation—in 1962—and had since returned to full vigor.

But in his only electoral test to date, his lackluster leadership of a pro-Yeltsin party won support from less than 10 per cent of the voters during elections to the national legislature in December. Lebed, by contrast, has no such popularity problems. His third place finish in the presidential elections vaulted him to prominence in the Kremlin. Now, the former military man who has a wide following for his blunt, simple prescriptions for Russia's izing. He is riding a crest of approval for his latest move, stopping the bloodshed in Chechnya. Critics

have said that the peace agreement with separatist rebels is tailored more to furthering Lebed's political career than to ending the 20-month civil war.

But while Lebed has not shunned his goal of becoming Russia's president, he is now cultivating patience as Yeltsin's hold on power loosens. To that end, he has publicly declined to challenge Chernomyrdin's constitutional right to stand in for Yeltsin. In that event, Lebed, "there must be a specifically designated person who administers the land and is responsible for everything that goes on. His name is Chernomyrdin." With Yeltsin's history of misadventure from seeing political doom in mind, would-be successors are clearly willing to use it to calm his health before fighting too openly to replace him.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

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WORLD NOTES

A CUBA STALEMATE

A U.S. attempt to win support for its anti-Castro Helms-Borton law was rebuffed in Europe. Bush envoy Stuart Eizenstat proposed "a first, genuine, multinational effort" to bring democracy to Cuba as essential for President Bill Clinton to achieve his July assumption of the law beyond next January. European diplomats rejected Washington's Cuba policy, but said they would consider the democracy initiative.

PHILIPPINE PEACE DEAL

More than two decades of armed rebellion in the southern Philippines came to an end when President Fidel Ramos and Muslim rebel leader Nur Masran signed a peace pact. Masran's Moro National Liberation Front had fought for independence for the country's heavily Muslim south in a struggle that cost more than 100,000 lives. The agreement calls for autonomy for much of the region within three years.

CRISIS IN COLOMBIA

Seized Colombian President Ernesto Samper rejected a public appeal to resign by his vice-president, who said the country is "falling to pieces." Samper has stubbornly deflected charges that his 1994 election campaign was financed by drug money. But amid heavy guerrilla fighting and a sharp economic downturn, Vice-President Humberto de la Calle called for a new national unity government.

HITLER'S SWISS ACCOUNT

A report that Adolf Hitler stashed huge royalties from his treatise *Mein Kampf* in a Swiss bank account needed a details about the extent to which neutral Switzerland protected Germany's Nazis. Citing declassified U.S. intelligence reports, Britain's Jewish Chronicle said the German dictator indirectly had numbered accounts at the Union Bank of Switzerland. The bank said it no longer has such records.

MUTANT CONVICTED

A Muslim militant who allegedly masterminded the World Trade Center bombing in New York City was convicted of plotting to blow up 12 U.S. senators. Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, 26, and two others face mandatory life sentences. The attacks, planned for Aug. 6, 1995, were never carried out. Yousef still faces trial for the 1993 trade center bombing, in which six people died.



A Volvo was crushed by the hurricane's forces: snapping trees, flooding waves

FRAN'S FURY

Blowing at up to 165 km/h, Hurricane Fran lashed the U.S. East Coast, killing at least 22 people and leaving more than four million temporarily without electricity. Fran tore through North and South Carolina, snapping trees, ripping shingles off churches and flooding towns. Downgraded to a tropical storm, it continued north into Virginia, heading towards southern Ontario, where heavy rains began on Saturday. In the Carolinas, beach towns were deserted as more than 500,000 people fled inland. Many of the same areas had survived Hurricane Bertha in July. Despite early fears, the storm was not as severe as 1959's Hurricane Hugo, which killed 35 people and caused \$11 billion in damage.

A hawk's historic handshake

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu broke his longtime vow never to greet Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, holding a historic hour-long meeting complete with a handshake that recalled the 1993 peace agreement. His close predecessor and political opponent Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's prime minister at the time, had refused to shake hands with Arafat at a convention of the ruling Likud party. Netanyahu said the session with Arafat—whom he considers a terrorist—was difficult but necessary for the continuation of a peace process that has bogged down since Netanyahu's election in May.

But the prime minister's insistence that he still backs Jewish settlers on the West Bank and that there would never be a Palestinian state did little to quell the anger among Likud right wingers, who called "treason" and "treason."

High-profile cabinet members Ariel Sharon and Benjamin Netanyahu, one of the late prime minister Menachem Begin, slammed their leader to whom Israeli news commentators labeled a "Lakud traitor"—a reference to the Palestinian uprising that began in 1988. But the media-savvy Netanyahu easily sold Israeli television viewers that he had shaken his first trusty get with the peace program or get out. "Every minister will have to accept it, otherwise they will not be ministers," Netanyahu said.

A grisly find in Belgium's child-sex case

A grisly find ended hopes that two missing Belgian teenagers might still be alive. After searching for three weeks, police found their bodies in a rural cemetery beneath a shed outside one of the homes of convicted pedophile Marc Dutroux. He and three others were arrested in mid-August after two eight-year-old girls were found starved to death in captivity and two adolescents were rescued. Dutroux had admitted kidnapping the girls in October, Lize Lambrechts, 17, and An Marijnt, 15, just over a year ago and was originally suspected of having sold them to prostitution. By week's end, a 13th suspect had been arrested in the growing child-sex ring scandal, which has Europe-wide links. Near Belgium girls were still missing.

ack-styled wilderness bikers but of questionable value to the average suburbanite, whose only off-road experience is a trip to the car wash. "I don't think I've ever had time to four-wheel drive," confesses Wilcoxon. Vancouver sports broadcaster J. P. McCannell, who drives a Ford Explorer, "I didn't get it because I wanted to go off-road riding," he adds. "In fact, I try very hard to stay on the road." For many buyers, it's the image that counts, concedes Todd Schief, sales manager at North Shore Old-Road Centre, a North Vancouver SUV and crossover shop. "A lot of people just want the look."

Women are not immune to the lure of ruggedness. Picture one of Petras's typical SUV focus groups: seven out of 10 are women, more than five feet, four inches tall. Asked why they want to drive a big Suburban, "they just smile and say, 'Nobody's going to push me around any more,'" the California car analyst says. "They really want something that looks intimidating in the rearview mirror."

That sense of security is especially attractive to women. The shorter bulk of light trucks seems to wrap the material in a protective metal cocoon. And sitting higher allows for greater visibility, helping drivers feel more in control. The problem, of course, is that these days a lot of other drivers are up there, too. People "perceive light trucks as more safe," says Maryann Keller, an industry analyst with Petras Sales Inc. in New York City. "Whether they are or not is debatable."

In fact, Consumer Reports raised questions about the safety of two SUV models last month, after the 1995 and 1996 Acura SLX, nearly rolled over during one of its U.S. magazine's routine tests. The watchdog publication labeled both Not Acceptable. With their higher center of gravity, sport-utility vehicles are more prone to rollovers, but other models have passed the test. Lure notwithstanding, it's that light trucks are not required by Transport Canada to conform to all our crashworthiness standards. The federal regulator intends eventually to bring minivans in line, but the party is still out on SUV front pickups.

Even without a rollover, light trucks can do serious damage to the pocketbook. When they tend to depreciate less rapidly, pickups, SUVs and minivans are still gas guzzlers. "The new vehicles get better mileage than they used to," says Doug Chausson, sales manager at Andean Ford Sales Ltd. in St. John's, Nfld. But they're light trucks, after all, and minivans are still relatively low. An extra few hundred dollars a year on the gas bill "just doesn't add up," says Toronto Ford distributor Nick Chiswick. And the Grand Cherokee is the biggest of choice. "It has such a high profile," said Buy, a partner in a Jeep dealership. "There is demand for it all over the world."

Petras says his research shows U.S. gasoline prices could rise as much as 30 cents a litre without dampening demand for light trucks. But as politicians shout the banner "let's-enough-guns" to raise gas taxes to the point where they could hurt truck makers, he adds, "As a result, the light-truck's appeal on the North American auto market will continue unabated." It's a matter of consumer pull and manufacturer push," says Petras, "and they seem to be coinciding." As long as that remains true, light-truck plants, and owners like Paul Duchesneau, will just keep on booming.



Buy pinching in Air security code: target

er Grand Cherokee with an improved security system. When thieves struck again in July, the lead heading of the stolen truck and then away. Each year in Canada, thousands of luxuriously appointed four-wheel drives, such as the Nissan Pathfinder and Toyota 4 Runner, are stolen and shipped overseas, primarily to Europe. But the Grand Cherokee is the target of choice. "It has such a high profile," said Buy, a partner in a Jeep dealership. "There is demand for it all over the world."

According to Statistics Canada, 150,000 motor vehicles were stolen in 1994, up from 70 per cent since 1986. Although the agency does not break out how many of those were luxury cars or sport-utility vehicles, police say that the number of thefts of high-end trucks has skyrocketed. In one of the most brazen car-

jackings yet, a group of thieves broke into a Chrysler dealership in Oakville, Ont., in late July and drove off with six Grand Cherokees worth a total of \$230,000.

Police believe that in most such cases, the perpetrators are organized gangs that are feeding the black market in countries like Russia and Poland. Customers there routinely pay more than \$100,000 for vehicles that retail in Canada for about \$45,000. Experts say the problem will likely grow until manufacturers set up dealership networks in the countries involved. "We're very concerned," says Jean-Claude Clavier, president of the Toronto-based Insurance Crime Prevention Bureau. "The thefts are still increasing."

In 1995, Montreal police seized more than 100 stolen Grand Cherokees two blocks north of David Porter, the insurance bureau's Ontario regional manager, says that car-theft rings normally pay a "car jockey" as little as \$500 for each stolen vehicle. Within hours, the trucks are loaded into shipping containers. "We're only getting a fraction of the four-by-fours," Porter acknowledges. "There is a ready market for them in nearly Third World countries."

As thefts increase, so does demand for sophisticated security systems, priced as high as \$2,000. One of the most popular devices is a tracker, which will alert police the driver to start a vehicle unless he has the correct identification code. Another product, developed by 52KR Advanced Technologies Inc. of Montreal, uses a global positioning satellite transmitter, enabling investigators to pinpoint a vehicle's location anywhere in the world. Cherokees, however, seem capable of failing almost any system. If they believe GPS is being used, they will simply park the vehicle on a busy street and wait to see if police arrive.

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Personal Business

The case for criticism

These days, the working world is full of business books and management experts preaching the virtues of teamwork and consensus-building. In training programs and at company retreats, supervisors are exhorted to shed the old hierarchical command-and-control philosophy and learn how to be more sensitive to their employees' needs.

Unfortunately, the current fixation on personal fulfillment has made criticism something of a last-letter word. Instead, managers throw around mushy euphemisms like "positive feedback" and "constructive evaluation"—catchphrases that gently camouflage the boss's true feelings.

Perhaps that's why Deborah Bright's advice sticks so many people as refreshing. Bright, a New York City-based consultant who has designed courses in anger and stress management for police, corporate executives and professional athletes, believes that criticism is an essential tool in creating improved performance and productivity. Twice last year, she has run seminars on how to give and take criticism at the Canadian Management Centre, a nonprofit training facility in Toronto.

In her book, *The Official Criticism Manual*, Bright debunks many of the myths that surround criticism in the workplace. Examples:

• Criticism cannot be used to motivate employees.

Many managers act as though the only way to motivate their staff is through frequent praise. The result, Bright says, is that the praise loses value and means little to the people who are receiving it. Moreover, the recipients may develop overweening egos and become difficult to deal with. A good manager balances praise with criticism, pointing out the negative aspects of an employee's actions and thereby teaching the person how to do things better. The key is to avoid harmful criticism—that which is meant simply to hurt, embarrass, destroy or get revenge.

• It's easier to dish out criticism than to take it.

According to Bright, delivering effective criticism every bit as tough as receiving it. In fact, many managers are reluctant to point out shortcomings because they fear hurting their employees' feelings or are worried that the criticism will be misinterpreted. Used properly to bring about a change in behavior, she says, criticism is a skill that requires careful preparation as well as an understanding of moral and individual goals.

• The best approach is to begin and end on a positive note.

Bright calls this the "Oreo cookie" method, the theory being that people are more willing to accept criticism when it is sandwiched between positive statements. Employees, however, can usually see through such devices. Worse, the receiver may be distracted by the praise and miss all or part of the message. To avoid confusion, it's usually better to come straight to the point.

• Use "we," not "you."

Management training programs, Bright says, often recommend supervisors to avoid contradictions by referring to "we" rather than "you"—as in the old-board phrase "We have a problem." But it's a misleading approach, since it is the receiver who is being asked to change his or her behavior. To maintain credibility, be direct.

• Employees dislike criticism.

That may be the biggest myth of all. Although workers often react critically and become defensive because of the way negative messages are delivered, that does not mean feedback is unwelcome. On the contrary, employees invariably want and expect their bosses to communicate openly—starting with a clear definition of their work assignments. After that, it is the boss's responsibility to tell people where they are doing a good job and what they are doing wrong. Otherwise, the work environment soon becomes cluttered with suspicions and built-in agendas—problems that in the long run are far more destructive than honest, well-rendered criticism.

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Business NOTES

BRE-X SEEKS PARTNER

Bre-X Minerals Ltd. of Calgary hired New York investment banker J.P. Morgan & Co. to find a partner to help develop the company's Bauxite gold deposit in Indonesia. Several major mining firms have already expressed interest in what analysts say is one of the largest discoveries in history, with close to 100 million ounces of gold.

DOWN AND ALMOST OUT

Four banks owed substantial amounts by Consumers Distributing cut the catalogue merchandiser into bankruptcy, but said they would keep it open briefly while they look for a buyer. The troubled retailer was \$200 million in debt when it sought court protection from its creditors on July 26.

FRIEDLAND FIGHTS FREEZE

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld ruling on Robert Friedland's right to contest recent orders freezing \$200 million worth of his shares. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency obtained the orders as part of its bid to hold Friedland responsible for the effect of slewing up an abandoned gold mine in Colorado. Justice Mary Saunders refused to support a U.S. justice department order that would have forced Friedland to challenge an Ontario order freezing his shares before dealing with a similar order in British Columbia.

HAPPY AT WORK

An international survey of 7,000 workers in 13 countries found that Canadians are the most committed to their employers. Indianapolis-based research firm Walzer Information asked employees to rate their level of satisfaction on a sliding scale. Canadian workers came first, followed by those in Finland, Spain and the United States. Employees in Asia, Germany and Britain reported the lowest levels of job satisfaction.

BENAMING UNITEL

Unitel Communications Co. is changing its name to AT&T Canada. AT&T Corp. of New York City is the long-distance company's largest shareholder. Toronto-based Unitel's condition—receiving from major banks, which are owed a combined \$600 million—arrived on the name change as a reassurance of AT&T's commitment to the company.



Musing for polka, the once-sleepy company is on a takeover binge

A homegrown giant takes on the world

Once a sleepy provincial Crown corporation that was privatized in 1989, Potash Corp. of Saskatchewan has become the world's dominant fertilizer producer following its takeover of a major nitrogen manufacturer in the United States. The Saskatoon-based mining firm, which has been on a takeover binge recently, paid \$1.6 billion for all outstanding common stock of Arcadian Corp. of Memphis, Tenn. The deal will make Potash Corp. the largest fertilizer producer

company's size would allow it to manipulate prices. Analysts, however, applauded the expansion. They noted that the world's population is increasing by 100 million people a year, and that the rising need for food will increase demand for the corporation's products. Overseas also predict that the takeover of Arcadian will pay for itself in relatively short order. "This thing should pay back in three years," said David Davidson, an analyst at CIBC Wood Gundy Securities Inc. in Toronto.

Why the boss is smiling

The income gap between low-level workers and their bosses continues to widen, according to a new survey of 300 Canadian companies by Salomon Smith & Young. It found that while executives and middle managers will receive a four per cent increase on average this year, the raise for non-management staff will be around three per cent. Broken down by job category, average income increases range from a low of 1.8 per cent for production and distribution workers to a high of 6.2 per cent for senior executives.



Profits up at the Big Six

Canada's two largest banks each earned more than \$1 billion in profits in the first nine months of this fiscal year. It took the Royal Bank of Canada and the CIBC the entire year to do that in fiscal

1995. At the current rate, total profits for Canada's six major banks could easily surpass \$6 billion in 1996, compared with \$5.2 billion in 1995. Canada's banks report a decline in the securities industry has boosted their bottom lines considerably, thanks largely to lagging brokerage fees and increas-

ed revenues from service charges. To fend off critics of their expanding profit levels, the Royal and CIBC emphasized that they have each paid more than \$1 billion in taxes so far this year. But an entrepreneurs' lobby group said that the banks still are not investing enough in small business.



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Peter C. Newman

The dynasty that won't stop ticking

The recent sale of Richardson Greenfields of Canada Ltd. to the Royal Bank of Canada marks a pivotal turning point for Winnipeg's Richardson clan, one of Canada's few remaining commercial dynasties.

"We have been turning down offers for the brokerage house for 32 to 35 years," George Richardson, the firm's chairman and managing director told me last week. "and this one was unexpected. It came about six weeks ago. We passed it on to the people working on the deal line, they assessed it and reported they'd be due for a year or two on their own, but in the longer term, we might be behind in the race. We wouldn't have the necessary momentum for the American capital that clients seem to want to have in their portfolios these days, and so we went in and did the deal. We've been going up and up for years, but in my experience, things don't go up forever. On the longer term, we thought it was better to be with the biggest and best-run investment house in the country."

Richardson felt that for the sake of his 1,710 employees and his clients, the moment had come to pass off the only operating division that bore the family name. Included in the \$480-million selling price is a hefty 60 per cent transfer of Royal Bank shares, and George's son, Harry, 39, will be taking over the family building-company's president, will join the bank's board on Nov. 5.

The major division is now gone, but hold no big days for the Richardsons. Last year, their enterprises enjoyed sales of \$1.6 billion, and the family owns all the shares. Among its other assets are three large steel and structural companies (Richardson's Ltd., Topcoch Grains Ltd. and Green Valley Chemical and Fertilizer Co. Ltd.), Pioneer Grain Co. Ltd., the largest private grain company in the country with 142 storage and yellow grain elevators, major grain terminals in Vancouver, Sorel, Que., and Thunder Bay, Ont., and a 500-unit, three-store development in Laker Tower, Ont., several major real estate holdings in Winnipeg, including the city's newest hotel and office building, as well as a 50-per-cent interest in Taurus Oil and Gas, a growing energy company operating in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Apart from George and his son Harry, there are only two other Richardsons with the firm: George's nephews James, 45, and Raymond, 42, who are vice-presidents with Richardson Greenfields. Depending on their commitment to Irish shrewdness and Loyalist sobriety to sign the dollars, the Richardsons have enlarged their far base and multiplied their influence through five generations of astute dealing, seldom straying into public view. The dynasty was founded in 1837 in Kingston, Ont., by James Richardson, who began his business providing grain to northern New York state during the American Civil War. (Although he was the region's leading

entrepreneur, his name appeared in local newspapers only once when he attended a newspaper breakfast for the local M22 Sir John A. Macdonald.)

The firm's first Manitoba office was opened in 1883, even before the CPR reached the city and far more of the west country, the family dominated the western grain trade. James was succeeded by his sons George and Henry, and by another James who ran the firm from 1938 to 1998. He expanded Pioneer from wheat into world markets, built radio stations, established Canada's first commercial airline that later became CP Air and is now Canadian Airlines, and helped finance early experiments with Technicolor movies.

This was the company's heyday, and even though James Richardson and Sons Ltd., among the other Winnipeg grain merchants, was missing significant profits, James stoutly maintained that the commission his firm collected added only a quarter of a cent to the price of a bushel. (When a bushel of wheat landed in Winnipeg's Wellington Crescent to show off the grain dealer's prowess, "All this," the astounded farmer exclaimed, "all this, on a quarter of a cent?" When James died in 1938, the family's leadership passed to his widow, Mabel, who successfully ran the firm for the next 37 years.

George Taylor Richardson, James's son, who has been in charge for most of the past three decades, exudes the institutional grace that comes with being a chief executive, but he also has another side. One of the country's most experienced private helicopter pilots, he holds his pilot's licence across the Canadian landscape, having completed at least two coast-to-coast flights, when he symbolically dipped his skis in both the Atlantic and Pacific. He often goes up alone at night, a great hummingbird in the sky, stemming over the moving lights of the highways and railway bridges.

Still working hard at 71, his office sits on top of the family skyscraper at the historic corner of Portage and Main, where he maintains the family traditions, but keeps an eye on the future. "The very optimistic," he says. "We're building high-throughput elevators and expanding all other divisions. We will still be in the financial business through our large ownership of Royal Bank stock. And then we'll have the luxury of time to look around for new ventures." His hesitations and then goes on. "Maybe I should be off the record on this, but there's something called the work ethic, and I still put in quite a few hours, and my son does exactly the same thing. I catch him in the office at 8 and 9 o'clock, every night. That's part of the game. You've got to keep your eye on the ball and know what you're doing."

And that's one powerful reason why the Richardsons are still in business, 158 years after they started.

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HEALTHWATCH

Mystical passion

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

I was a training gag on the popular television series *L.A. Law* actors Michael Tucker and Jill Eikenberry. In the roles of hard-boiled attorneys Stuart Margulies and Ann Kehney, would frequently leave the office, making vague allusions to the Venus Butterfly—a mysterious sexual metamorphosis that supposedly drove women wild. "It's such a fancy thing," Tucker told *Madden's*. "The writers made it up and then, years later, we discovered what it was and it has become the centre of our life."

The secret, says the couple who have been married for 23 years, is Tantric sex. "We thought we had the best relationship in the world before," says Tucker. "We had no idea—we've gone to the moon." Tucker says they have both "changed profoundly" since they began to practice Tantric love-making techniques three years ago. "It's been extraordinary in terms of healing for me," says Eikenberry, who was diagnosed with breast cancer about 10 years ago. "All the aches and pains, the stomach problems I've suffered over the years seem to be completely gone." For Tucker, it meant a "180-degree reversal" in his attitude towards sex. "I always thought the need of sex was no pleasure," says Tucker. "But the point is taking my years in the dropout, most spiritual way, but also in a profoundly sensual way." Now, he adds, "Our sex and life is greater than anything I've ever dreamed of—it's a state of bliss."

Tantra—a complex marriage of yoga, meditation and ritual that originated in India thousands of years ago—has been flouting on the fringes of pop culture since the 1970s. North Americans enthusiastically embraced its exotic, incense-burning, candles and massage with aromatic oils, but the authentic Tantric approach to sex proved too esoteric, not to mention time-consuming. "There was a lengthy ritual called *mudras*," notes Stewart Epstein, an Arizona-based investment consultant and Tantra teacher who, with his partner Mackenzie (Shelli) Jordan, led a 6-day seminar called "Tantra: Loving for Couples" on Corona Island, B.C., last month. "There would be three days of gift-giving, fasting, meditation and looking into each other's eyes to heighten the energy before intercourse."

But, now, lovers across Europe and North America are beginning to uncover the sacred secrets of Tantra—as well as Taoism and other mystical religions. In a clutch of popular books and videos—with such seductive titles as *Tantra: The Art of Conscious*

Loving, Mystical Sex and Sexual Energy Ecology—modern gurus and sex experts offer dozens of 1990s adaptations of the ancient techniques, often packaged with New Age psychotherapy and without the bell-ringing, incense-burning and strange Sanskrit terminology. Last month, in Vancouver, Canadian-born travel writer Tim Ward drew a crowd of 500 to a reading of *Awakening the God*, his recently published book about his personal experiences with mystical sex in India. "Tantric sex has come out of the woodwork," says Ward. "People are looking for new ways of looking at their sexuality." Attracted by promises of ecstasy, vitality and prolonged sexual rapture, couples and singles of all ages are signing up in increasing numbers for workshops. "It's what I have always looked for," says Sophie, an unmarried 30-year-old Toronto bookstore clerk. "Tantric sex isn't just something you do for fun—there is a profound spiritual connectedness."

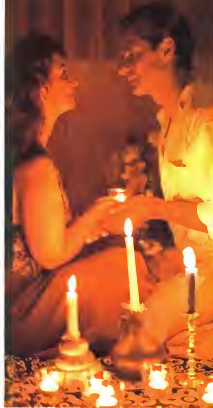
The newly aroused passion for Tantra—with its promise to add a spiritual dimension to sex—is no mystery. "In North America, sex and love are often separated," says Caroline Mink—who, with her husband and partner Charles Muir, taught Tantra to Tucker and Eikenberry. "Many people have a feeling that something is missing." Some supporters point out, in the era of AIDS, Tantra offers couples a way to explore their sexuality while remaining in a committed relationship. "Beyond the sex," says Louis Meldman, a clinical psychologist in Birmingham, Mich., and author of *Mystical Sex: Love Ecology and the Mystical Experience*, "there is a tremendous discovery in spirituality—people are looking for something that they are not getting in regular religion." Tantra does offer a spiritual dimension, but it's a "fairly shallow, New Age" one, remarks a skeptical John Stockman, professor of religion at the University of Manitoba. "It promises spiritual benefits without having to be responsible to any god or spirit or anyone being who will tell you what you can and cannot do with your body."

Tantra is based on the traditional Eastern belief that a circuit of energy flows through the body, in much the same way that blood runs through veins and arteries. This pathway of energy—according to Tantric beliefs—coincides with the body's seven main "chakras," or energy centres, from the lowest chakra at the base of the spine to the crown chakra at the top of the head. Although there is no scientific evidence for the existence of chakras, Margo Anand, a respected psychologist and promoter of Tantric sex who was recently named to collaborate with staff at Harvard and



TANTRA ADVOCATE MICHAEL TUCKER

Tantric sex workshops sell rapture



Cand (left) and Debbie (right) some people suspect it involves magic, but it is 'spiritual growth'

Stanford University medical schools, believes that the chakras correspond to parts of the body's endocrine system that regulate vitality and energy. "Like acupuncture, it can only be partially explained scientifically," says Anand, "but the results demonstrate that it works."

The secret to Tantric sex, believe chakra, is to open up the chakras and move the sexual energy—called *kundalini*—from the two lowest chakras near the genitals, up to the heart, or loving chakra, where it merges with the partner's energy channel before flowing to the highest crown chakra, creating a sensation of oneness and ecstasy. "When my seven chakras are open and all of mine are open and we are connecting," says Tucker, "we can dance near levitate off the bed." Toby Rapp, a Montreal resident, reports a less dramatic experience. "The goal is not so much to get blood out," says Rapp, who has attended Tantric workshops. "The idea is to become more open and present to your partner."

Experts in Tantric sex have widely different views on how to control the body's energy. "There's a lot of just plain nonsense out there," says Meldman. Still, most programs emphasize breathing exercises, meditation and yoga. Some also include dance, massage, psychotherapy and communication skills, as a prelude to love. "People imagine that Tantric sex workshops are orgies," says Liliana Case, who, with her husband Robert Radford, runs the Montreal SkyDancing Institute, an eight-immersion training centre founded by Anand. "It is not like that at all. It has to do with spiritual and personal growth." Still, Anand and others suggest caution. "Some teachers may never have done any yoga in their life," says Muir. "There have been teachers found for abusing women, others for taking drugs in groups."

Some Canadian experts take a bright view of Tantric sex. In fact, well-known sex educator Sue Johnson says that one Tantric technique used to prolong lovemaking is often used by conventional sex therapists to treat premature ejaculation. "It's marvelous therapy," says the outspoken Joliet, Ont., sex educator who is "not affiliated" with the meditation and transcendental states that accompany it. "There are some good things about Tantric sex," states Johnson, who teaches Carolyn Chermakoff. "It really does stress equality and it seems to stress sensation." Her husband and co-therapist, Dr. William Chermakoff, believes that Tantra's attempt to develop oneness with a partner is probably "therapeutic"—if not scientific. In fact, the Chermakoffs believe that Canadians suffer more from lack of time than lack of technique. "If most couples had the luxury to achieve the time to enjoy their sexual relationship," says Carolyn, "they could have wonderful sex—even without Tantra." □

DISHING IT OUT

Direct-to-home satellite television is hot

For viewing pleasure, color it vibrant, but in terms of legality, color it grey. About 18 months ago, Doug, a Calgary businessman who asked that his name not be used, paid \$4,500 for a DTH (direct-to-home) satellite dish and decoder. With no domestic DTH services available in Canada, Doug's pizza-sized dish points at a U.S. satellite operated by Los Angeles-based DirectTV, making him household one of about 150,000 in Canada that can now view just about anything—sports, music, news—on more than 150 television channels originating in the United States. But in the increasingly competitive world of TV programming distribution, a number of Canadian companies claim that the practice of tuning in to U.S. DTH services is illegal. In July, they filed a civil suit alleging that Canadian retailers currently selling DTH technology—the systems are configured to work only in conjunction with specific service providers, in this case U.S. ones—are circumventing the Radio-Television Act by providing access to television signals not licensed in Canada. Still, Canadian continue to use the technology. "The sound is excellent, the picture is crystal clear," Doug says. "I find a riftline come over who couldn't believe the picture—and the TV is eight years old."

Since DTH systems were first introduced on the U.S. market in late 1984, the technology's sales have grown over those of video machines when they first appeared. The payoff is clear: sound as crisp as a CD and images with the snap of a laser disc. Programs meant for broadcast are first digitized, a process that converts sound and image into a numerical code represented by satellites. The digitized programs are then compressed to increase broadcast capacity, scrambled and "uplinked" to a satellite. They are



Installing a whole decoder (satellite sharp pictures and a legal gray area)

then beamed back to Earth, received by the radio-satellite dishes and descrambled in subscribers' homes. In Canada, several satellite retailers across the country sell the 46-cm-wide dishes, along with decoders about the size of a CD player, with costs having dropped to about \$700 in the past 18 months. Viewers can subscribe to one of several program packages from either DirectTV or one of its U.S. competitors—many from \$200—using a phone or U.S. address, sometimes supplied by the retailer, and with payment billed directly to a credit card. The deception is necessary because the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission, Canada's broadcast regulator, has not licensed DirectTV.

For the moment, Canadian government regulators have done little beyond publishing a list sheet, warning consumers that they could be cut off by the U.S. supplier if

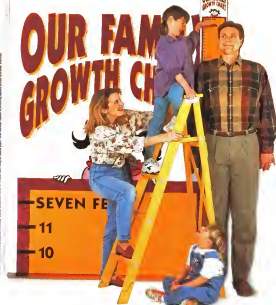
found out. But domestic DTH service is on the horizon—so far, three companies have been licensed by the CRTC and one, Star Choice Television Network Inc. of Lindsay, Ont., expects to be up and running by early next year. Meanwhile, four Canadian firms—Toronto-based EcommTV Inc., which has also been licensed by DTH, Calgary's Allstream Pay Television Ltd., the Family Channel and The Movie Network—have launched a lawsuit against several retailers that carry DTH systems, including Price Costco Canada Inc., operator of The Price Club. The civil suit demands \$50 million in damages and a Federal Court injunction to block dish and decoder sales, says Luther Haase, vice-president at Allstream. Selling the hardware, Haase charges, is nothing short of "electronic shoplifting" and handicaps Canadian television programming distributors, who have to go through a lengthy licensing procedure.

But while many grey legalities are now before the courts, the world of DTH provides black-market opportunities. DTH service customers are issued official access cards, embedded with a microchip that talks the decoder which signals to unscramble in accordance with the subscription package. Recently, though, a lucrative but illegal trade in so-called smart cards developed by computer hackers erupted in Canada. Smart cards can be used to replace official access cards and allow unlimited viewing of all programming.

bypassing restrictions. In June, the RCMP conducted a series of raids in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, resulting in the seizure of hundreds of smart cards.

DirectTV is currently sending out newly programmed access cards to its more than 1.7 million subscribers in an attempt to curb piracy. "The whole system is designed with the concept of replaceable security," says DirectTV spokeswoman Evelyn Bell. "We've always anticipated that anything that a group of engineers could create, an equally sophisticated group of engineers could do." Doug, for one, who bought smart cards as mementos, sought out his underground contacts to have it reprogrammed. For Canadians viewing DTH television, the options—and the legalities—remain open.

DANIEL BAWALESKHA



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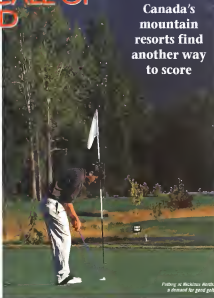
Backpack TRAVEL

A NEW CALL OF THE WILD

The bear would not move. The indolent bison, adolescent and mid-size, had emerged from dense brush to the edge of the pre-17th green at the Whistler Golf Club just after a tourney of madweek players had hit their tee shots. And having ambled slowly across the fringe, it stopped by a green-side bunker and gazed unblinkingly at the gallery. The hairy interloper posed an unusual hazard. Two of the players had asked their caddies into the sand trap, right beneath where the bear had come to a rest. "We're away!" one of the players yoked to his partner, nudging him towards the bunker. "You hit it," the partner replied, holding his ground. So they all waited several minutes until the bear tired of the game and wandered into the forest.

For wild animals and other outdoor enthusiasts, the mountains are not what they used to be. Many ski resorts that used to be vacant in summer are now overrun by club-swinging tourists in various shades of plaid. Whistler, British Columbia's premier winter playground, is becoming known as much for its lush green fairways as its majestic white slopes. A similar facelift is under way at Mount Tremblant, the Laurentian ski resort northwest of Montreal that last summer awarded its first championship course. At that, the resort's conversion to golf is going up hotel and restaurant sales in the traditional off-season. But the response has exceeded early forecasts, and developers say they can reap substantial returns even though building a single course can cost up to \$80 million. "You put a great golf course in a great setting and it attracts people from all over the world," says Brad Pelletier, general manager of Nicklaus North, the owner of Whistler's four major courses. "It's the same with skiing—people come here for the whole experience."

Golf-driven tourism is not new. In the 1930s, betwixt In Jasper and Banff national parks wanted to give summer visitors something to do other than admire the mountains. So they commissioned legendary Canadian course architect Stanley Thompson to design 18-hole layouts that still inspire awe. But in the 1990s, golf has grown so popular that it, more than the mountains, is often the main attraction. At



Putting in Whistler's North, a demand for good golf.

Canada's mountain resorts find another way to score

Mount Tremblant, golf director Justin Bellman says that last year he had to turn away thousands of players who wanted to test designer Tom Weir's challenging course, Le Grand. And of the 17,000 rounds of golf played at Tremblant in 1995, more than half came from people who had to book a night in the resort's hotels in order to get a tee-time. "Those people were not coming here unless there

was a golf course," says Bellman.

Golf's appeal is not exclusive to ski resorts. New courses are being launched in summer havens such as Ontario's Haliburton region and Prince Edward Island. The P.E.I. tourism industry is promoting hotel packages that offer access to any one of its three provincially owned courses, including the three-year-old seaside sensation, The Links at Crowbush Cove. Crowbush

general manager Jack Kane says the provincial layout that year will host 70,000 rounds. "There was a pent-up demand for good, accessible golf around here," Kane says. "There have always been good courses, but most of them were private."

Canadian operators learned from popular golf destinations such as Florida and Arizona that, to lure high-end customers, they had to build top-rate facilities. Accordingly, the new resort courses often rival the best private golf clubs in both conditioning and service, and many charge greens fees of \$100 or more. And although the Canadian resorts' main markets are overseas—British Columbia players make up half of rounds at Whistler, for instance—the greatest opportunity to increase business lies in the United States.

With luxury hotels, restaurants and cheap dollars, Canadian resorts are already giving American golfers reasons to head north. According to surveys commissioned by the Whistler Resort Association, 50 per cent of its golfers in 1995 came from the United States. And in a further effort to tap into the U.S. market, some resort operators are hiring European, Japanese and American architects design their courses, rather than such established Canadians as McIlroy and Doug Carrick. But McIlroy contends that the success of his Tremblant design demonstrates that players seek good golf courses rather than name-brand architects. "We should be showcasing the country's talent, not just its landscapes," he says.

The Whistler region, which has traditionally attracted a tourist elite, now offers a state-of-the-art roster of American-designed courses to go with its deluxe hotels, restaurants and nightlife. Starting with the Arnold Palmer-designed Whistler Golf Club, the town's first course, the area has added Robert Trent Jones Jr.'s mountain-side beauty at Chelsea Whistler, Bob Curry's scenic Big Sky Golf and Country Club in nearby Pemberton, and Jack Nicklaus's pristine Nicklaus North on Green Lake. Since the Palmer course opened in 1980, the number of rounds played annually in the area has climbed to nearly 100,000. That success is spurring development in other areas across Canada.

"Playing golf is the heart of Le Grand on the resort as a whole," Tremblant's Bellman says. "We are looking at building another course." More golf, it seems, means more business.

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CALENDAR

Molière and Ibsen, Haydn and Bizet, fall festivals, Inuit throat singing and cowboy art and poetry

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Sept. 27-28 Mid-Autumn Chinese Festival, Grease Mountain, Vancouver. Celebrating the Chinese custom of observing the full moon at fall, the event offers music, dancing, parades and decorations and a traditional Lion Dance.

Oct. 3-Nov. 2 The Imaginary Insult, Arts Club Theatre, Vancouver. An updated version of Molière's classic 17th-century farce about a wealthy hypochondriac, starring Peter MacKenzie in the title role.

ALBERTA

Sept. 14-Dec. 8 Healing Legions, Glenbow Museum and Art Gallery, Calgary. An exhibition of art and writing by women with breast cancer aims to present a realistic picture of the experience.

Sept. 14-Oct. 6 Ghosts, Citadel Theatre, Edmonton. Henrik Ibsen's chilling tale of a mother's love for her son when Susan Cook as Mrs. Alving and Randy Huggan as Pastor Manders.

SASKATCHEWAN

Sept. 25-26 Cowboy Poetry Gathering and Western Art Show, Maple Creek. Cowboy poetry sessions, a cowboy church service and an art auction are the highlights of this event.

MANITOBA

Sept. 30-Oct. 7 Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, Centennial Concert Hall, Winnipeg. The Montreal troupe performs Jiri Kylián's *Symphony*, Edward Lécroix's *Christine* and Chantal Nadeau's *Prophètes*.

ONTARIO

Oct. 4-12 Made in Canada: Festival of Canadian Music, Toronto. A collaborative effort of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, the CBC and 13 other Toronto newsmagazines, the festival offers 11 world premieres by Canadian composers at various venues.

QUEBEC

Sept. 23, 25, 26, 28, Oct. 2, 3 Les Pêcheurs du jour, Place des Arts, Montreal. The Montreal Opera's premiere presentation of Georges Bizet's intense work of love, friendship

and betrayal set in ancient Cydonia features soprano Lyne Fortin as Leila.

Sept. 27-Oct. 6 Autumn Dreams, Rain-Soaked. The North Shore community's sixth annual celebration of the season features artists, musicians and outdoor events.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Sept. 15-Nov. 3 Joe Flisbett, Reflections and Shadows, The Riverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton. An exhibition of the glass, pastel, mural, paintings at the 78-year-old Canadian expatriate, a Paris resident since 1949.

NOVA SCOTIA

Oct. 1-8 Symphony Nova Scotia, Celtic City, Lunenburg. Celtic music, including the internationally acclaimed Canadian pianist Leslie Lurie joins the SNS for *Baroque: Piano Concerto No. 2*, Prokofiev's *Classical Symphony* and *Symphony No. 32* by Haydn.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Sept. 16-22 Prince Edward Island Festival of the Arts, Greenwood. Theatre, craft demonstrations, readings and visual arts displays culminate in a gala performance at Sanderson by leading Island musicians.

NEWFOUNDLAND

Sept. 8-Oct. 16 Diary, Eastern Edge Gallery, St. John's. Five Canadian artists exhibit works ranging from quilts to drawings showing the influence of personal experience on artistic achievement.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Sept. 13 Tugboat and Precinct Brew, Northern Arts and Cultural Centre, Yellowknife. A concert featuring the western pop scene's finest and acoustic band about singing of Tugboat and the country music of Precinct Brew.

YUKON

Sept. 27-28 Yukon Wildlands Project Benefit Concert, Yukon Arts Centre, Whitehorse. New music by Matthew Lwin and other northern performers in aid of preserving the territory's wilderness.

NEXT

A sampling of upcoming diversions

MOVIES

Extreme Measures Hugh Grant gets serious as an English doctor who discovers that the work of a recent colleague breaches medical ethics and morality.

American Buffalo Michael Corrente directs Dustin Hoffman, Sean Penn and Dennis Quaid in a tale of betrayal among small-time hustlers.

The First Wives Club Barbra Streisand, Goldie Hawn and Glenn Close play three Manhattan bachelorettes seeking revenge against the husbands who dumped them for younger trophy wives.

Crash Director David Cronenberg made an impact of Cannes with his outrageous movie about characters with an erotic obsession to car accidents.

VIDEO

Drain Greasy The kids in the final concert, a pharmaceutical force about a scientist who invents a drug to cure depression.

Preps Film-makers Joel and Ethan Coen (Steven Fink) apply their high-toned irony to a black comedy of errors set in Minnesota.

The Brinkage Robin Williams and Gene Hackman star in a remake of the 1950s comedy *La Cage aux Folles*. Mike Nichols directs an Edward Zwick script.

Jurassic and the Giant Peach Tim Burton's (dis)justice inspired adaptation of the Roald Dahl children's classic is a July treat for kids and adults.

BOOKS

My Uncle Leo Paul Theroux (Viking Penguin). The celebrated travel writer and novelist reverts "intellectualized" memoirs for a character called Paul Theroux.

The Way She Looks Tonight: Five Women of Style Martin Fowler (Penguin House). The acclaimed biographer contends that clothes not only make the woman but also make history.

Swampy Grounds Selected Letters William S. Burroughs (University of Toronto). The late Canadian philosopher and teacher is revisited as both a daring thinker and a troubled man.

AUDIO

New Adventures of 10-4 R.E.M. (Warner). A new release from one of the biggest bands in the rock 'n' roll universe.

Pictures at an Exhibition Toronto Symphony Orchestra, Jukka-Pekka Saraste conductor (PolyGram). This landmark recording of the Mahler symphony chosen as the 1993's first under Saraste and its first on the respected Finlandia label.

Collectors The Rankin Family (EMI). An album of all the group's hits along with some previously unreleased material.

Soul Almighty: The Posthumous Years, Vol. 1 Bob Marley (GAS). Recordings from the late reggae star from 1967 to 1972.

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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

Migration of the stars

Celebrity spotting can be like bird-watching. For devotees of the Toronto International Film Festival, it took patience, a good eye, and a memory for shapes and names. But the reward came in seeing the real stars and directors mingling in their 64th drawings: Tom Hanks, Al Pacino, Cher, Liam Neeson, Hugh Grant, Angeline Hustin, Matthew Broderick, Helen Mirren and Kevin Spacey were just a few of the celebrities who were scheduled to fly in for the 20-day festival. "Josh," moaned one Toronto driver last week, "I nearly ran Kathleen Turner over when she was crossing the street. Wouldn't that make a great headline? 'Turner deploys airbag'." But a more certain method of garnering sightings was



Spacey, George Clooney, and other celebrities spotting

attending the 16 festival galas and scores of affiliated parties. At Roy Thomson Hall, all the stars of *My Darling Clementine*—a heartwarming movie based on Canadian novelist Hilary Littman's work to help Canada's new immigrants—were at the opening night gala last week. That included a reluctant-looking Liam Neeson, along with actor Jeff Daniels, who portrays the Lithuanian character in the movie, and Anna Paquin, who plays his daughter, looking far more sophisticated than her 13 years. As well, Dana Delaney, Danielle's fictional girlfriend, was at the gala, accompanied for the second consecutive year by Canadian actor Henry Czerny, last seen in the summer blockbuster *Mousetrap*. The only ones missing at the *My Darling Clementine* gala were the guests themselves. But then, nobody wanted to do any bird-watching in town last week.

Making money from a major loss

It all started for Wendy Buckland and Barb Nicoll with a hunch. The two Burlington, Ont.-based entrepreneurs have created a cottage industry—out of a home office and with no borrowed money—by sharing their adventures in the battle of the bulge. Buckland (Buckland, 43, struggled with her weight for more than 50 years before starting a weight-losing and low-fat food regimen in 1992, which finally resulted in the lean body she wanted. She passed her exercise and nutrition tips on to clients, including Nicoll, 31, who was trying to lose 60 lb. after the birth of her first child, Jake, in 1994. Within five months, Nicoll had lost the weight and now runs marathons. In May, 1996, she and Buckland

started giving fitness and nutrition seminars around Ontario to help others change their lifestyles. "We tell people to do it for how you feel, first," says Nicoll, "and how it makes you look, second." The seminars were a huge success, leading to a nationally distributed food bar, *Go West! Delicious This Is Low Fat!*—including the *Bulky Bros.*—and a guide book, *Amend and Deregulate*, which Key Porter is publishing next month.

Buckland, Nicoll: to feel good, then look good



A superhuman flight

Some speakers are worth the effort. When The Hospital for Sick Children and The Toronto Hospital looked off a \$20-million neuroscience research fund-raiser last week, they went to great lengths to make sure they had their Superhero Highway star Christopher Reeve. It took more than six months of letters and phone calls to guarantee the presence of Reeve, who took up the cause of spinal-cord research after he fractured a vertebra in his neck in a riding accident in May 1995, leaving him paralyzed from the neck down. The next hurdle: securing a Challenger jet to whisk Reeve from his suburban New York City home to Toronto. The Challenger is the only private aircraft that can comfortably accommodate Reeve's "Sp. 1" Puffinbarger P300 wheelchair—which he can manoeuvre simply with his hands—as well as his touring entourage of two nurses and a couple of personal attendants. After numerous inquiries, campaign organizers found private manufacturer Johnson Controls World Services Ltd. of Milwaukee willing to donate the use of its corporate jet. The organizers' persistence paid off. Reeve delivered an inspirational address, pleading for more support from researchers and the public. "None of us wants to be a burden," he said. "We want to be productive members of society, and the only way to do that is through research." Then, Superhero flew home.

GET HAPPY!



Former's fun has comely club, happy people are likely to be longer

BY RAE CORRELL

The search for happiness is one of the chief sources of unhappiness.

—Eric Hoffer, *The Passions of the Mind* (1964)

EXPERTS DEBATE WHETHER THE KEY TO HAPPINESS LIES IN THE GENES

Philosophers ponder it, poets and songwriters celebrate it. Movie-makers and playwrights exploit it and politicians routinely promise it. Across the centuries, it has been sought more fervently still: lives were sacrificially blown there they offer human quality. But now it turns out that a lot of the energy poured into the age-old pursuit of happiness may have been largely a waste of time. Two University of Minnesota researchers claim to have discovered that an individual's capacity for happiness is genetically pre-set. And while day-to-day experience will cause it to fluctuate, sooner or later it always returns to its programmed

level. Some social scientists endorse that theory but others are skeptical. "I think what's going on around you is more important than what you were born with," says Alex Michalos of the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George. The idea that a genetic thermostat controls how much happiness an individual can sustain—different people have different levels—is the work of behavioral geneticist David Lykken and psychologist Rokee Tellegen. They studied more than 1,300 sets of twins, some identical and others fraternal. Identical twins have matching genes while fraternal ones are no more similar genetically than ordinary siblings. The results, Tellegen says, showed there was little variation in the perception of well-being between identical twins brought up together and those raised apart from one another. In fact, he says, highly educated twins as partners of professions were as happy

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as some pairs in his 25-year career of treating patients and teaching, says Boston-born psychologist Michael Fordyce. "It occurred to me that happiness is the ultimate goal in life, and everything we do is just a way to get there," says Fordyce, now a professor of psychology at Florida Community College in Fort Myers, Fla., began to study the character



14 STEPS TO THE BIG SMILE

istics of happy people. This results in 14-point road map to happiness, the core of a course he teaches to about 1,000 students each year. "My assumption was that ordinary people could learn to control some of these things better they would become happy; and my research indicates that for the vast majority this holds true," the Fordyce formula.

1. Be more active and keep busy
2. Spend more time socializing
3. Be productive at meaningful work or pursuits
4. Get better organized and plan things out
5. Stop worrying
6. Lower your expectations and aspirations
7. Develop positive, optimistic thinking
8. Get present-oriented

9. Work on a healthy personality
10. Develop an outgoing social personality
11. Be yourself
12. Eliminate negative feelings and problems
13. View close relationships as the number 1 source of happiness
14. Value happiness.

The thing to remember Fordyce says, is that happiness is a way to travel through life, not a place to arrive.

thus, levels of happiness in high school and post-graduate years. Because there was no such correlation among fraternal twins, the researchers concluded that at least part of the explanation had to be genetic. Happiness, says Lykken, appears to be about half inherited and half a reaction to life's ups and downs.

Scientific reaction to the social of genetic set point theory has ranged from qualified support to outright dismissal. UNBC's Michalos says happiness is influenced by a lot more than genes. University of Michigan social psychologist Jennifer K. Crocker considers it happy set point probably exists but "how that works I don't think we understand." Psychologist Howard Warr of Indiana's Purdue University accepts the set point, but "we're not able to say how much is genetically determined and how much isn't." But Ronald Inglehart of the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research doubts that happiness is genetic. "It's clearly very culturally conditioned," he says.

The academic debate over the nature, origin and mysteries of happiness (and what, if anything, goes have to do with it) has become both worldwide and spirited. Happiness was on the agenda at the American Psychological Association annual meeting in Toronto in July. In August, about 100 social scientists from 18 countries showed up at UNBC for a world conference on the quality of life. After a century of plucking human misery, psychology has apparently discovered that happiness and joy are more fun. "Every year for the last 20, there have been about 1,100 published scientific articles related to happiness, quality of life and subjective well-being," says Michalos, who taught philosophy at Ontario's University of Guelph for 28 years. "There's an enormous industry out there."

But professional curiosity about wellbeing had begun before that. In the 1960s, European social scientists introduced the World Values Surveys, an attempt to measure the relative happiness of different countries by polling their citizens. The surveys, which have expanded since the 1980 edition to include 50 nations around the world, is co-ordinated by Michigan's Inglehart. Some of his conclusions:

- Happiness rises steeply with economic development "until you hit roughly the level of Ireland. The Irish are happier than the Germans even though the Germans are twice as rich."

- Above the level of Ireland, there is hardly any relationship between prosperity and happiness.

- There is evidence that people who are happy and satisfied are significantly likelier to live longer.

- "If you get rich in the last month, you feel terrific. But after 18 years, being rich probably has no effect on your happiness."

- "The Japanese are getting happier, taking a little more time to smile the more."
- Why do Scandinavian score at the top of the happiness scale? "They are small, matured, secure, homogeneous and prosperous, where

It is predictable," says Lighthouse. "They have advanced welfare states and life is pretty good." Based on that research, he adds, "I doubt that happiness is genetic."

But to ordinary people, the ongoing challenge is not about heredity but about dealing with life's ups and downs. And the natural desire for more ups than downs, perhaps aided by hard times, may explain the phenomenal growth in the popularity of feel-good books,

Eight Minutes, The 10 Secrets of Abundant Happiness, The Alchemy of Happiness, 14,000 Things to Be Happy About—seven Animal Happiness. His follow-up TV shows on PBS about spirituality have made Toronto-based John Bradshaw a well-paid icon—and the host of a daily talk show beginning this month. Across the continent, hundreds of seminars offer up close-and-personal programs like the Toronto-based Personal Resource Centre does, which

A WORLD OF HAPPINESS

Canadians ranked 12 in most 38 countries included in a World Values Survey published in 1995. The percentages are based on the number of respondents who chose part 3 of the following question:

"Telling of things together, would you say you are (1) not at all happy, (2) not very happy, (3) quite happy or (4) very happy?"

COUNTRY	HAPPY
Iceland	97
Sweden	96.2
Denmark	94.2
Norway	93.5
Netherlands	93.4
Northern Ireland	93.1
Belgium	92.8
France	92.1
Ireland	91.6
Ireland	91
Austria	90.6
Finland	89
United States	88.7
Poland	87.6
Germany	85.9
Italy	85.3
Spain	84.9
Japan	82.9
Turkey	81.4
South Korea	78.9
CANADA	78.4
Argentina	77.6
Brazil	76.1
South Africa	75
Portugal	72.7
Chile	72.5
India	72.3
Malaysia	69.5
China	68
Hungary	67.9
Nigeria	66
Czechoslovakia (former)	65.7
Ecuador	61
Latvia	54
Ethiopia	52.8
Russia	52.3
Bolivia	45.9
Bulgaria	37

SOURCE: THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY



Researcher Neville: there is a search for the meaning of life

urges prospective customers to "re-examine and live the life that you want."

If it all sounds like a new religion, it may well be something like that. Says the U of T's Neville, who gathers the Canadian data for the World Values Survey: "It turns out that where such things as church attendance rates are actually falling, the number of people who say they think about the meaning and purpose of life is actually on the increase. And it's on the increase in those countries that are the most secular."

Social scientists agree that the ultimate reward for people in search of life's meaning

and purpose is so-called subjective well-being—in other words, happiness. To most investigators, happiness and well-being are inseparable. "Happiness comes from within, and you have to have a good self-esteem that comes from within in order to be able to appreciate the things and the people around you and, most important, yourself," says Dr. Simon Davidson, chief of psychiatry at the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario in Ottawa. "That prevents the whole dilemma where some people's self-esteem comes entirely from outside—they only feel good about themselves if people are telling them what good they are." It's a view shared by Michigan's Crucker. "If you're keeping your self-esteem on your competence or on love or on success, then you're vulnerable," she says. At the same time, she adds, appearance is no barrier to happiness—whether the physically unattractive man she studied is particularly prone to low self-esteem.

In last May's issue of *Psychological Science*, David Myers of Michigan's Hope College and Ed Diener of the University of Illinois, both psychologists, co-authored an article titled, "What Is Happy?" From their own research and that of others,

- They offered these insights:
- "No trace of life is notably happier or unhappier than any other."
- There is little difference in happiness between black and white Americans.
- Women are about as happy as men.
- Wealthy Americans are

HAPPINESS AT \$1,360 A WEEK

From the air it looks like a peak resort or a millionaire's hideaway. But visitors to the 65 acres of rolling hills and woodlands in western Massachusetts are not vacationers or the victims of a wellness racket. They are people in pursuit of happiness who think Barry Neil Kaufman's Option Institute can help them find it. Can it? "Of course," says public relations manager Pauline Bandiera. "It's quick, easy and painless."

The 54-year-old Kaufman, a freelance graphic designer, opened the institute 13 years ago as a place to teach the self-help techniques he and his wife learned from dealing with an autistic son. The center's glossy 12-page brochure says clients, guided by 25 teachers, will learn about water, shadows, self-confidence, personal empowerment, motivation, reconciliation with the past and greater reality. Yet, like other so-called happy farms across the United



Advice between the comic book covers: 'You're every walk of life'

States, the toll on the road to wellness is hefty: \$440 for a three-day weekend, \$1,360 for a week, and \$9,600 for "the full eight weeks."

But people seem prepared to shell out because happiness has become a hot commodity, and Kaufman, like scores of others in the sensational healing-business, has tapped into a bottomless market. His 10 books, including *Out-Steering Your Karma*, *The Book of Miracles and Lights* and his latest, *Happiness Is a Choice*, have sold more than two million copies in 18 languages.



The books have evidently made an impression. Bandiera says the customers, most in their 30s and 40s, come from places as distant as Ireland, Australia, Japan, the former Soviet Union, New Zealand and Switzerland. What about critics who look upon self-help retreats as more cult than college? "If it was a cult," says Bandiera, "people wouldn't get fired and here they do." Administrative director Carol Wynn is equally dismissive of the self-comparison. "We feel that what we do here is unique," she says.

- only slightly happier than their poorer counterparts.
- Happy people have four major characteristics: self-discipline, a sense of personal control, optimism and extraversion.
- Lottery winners are initially elated but the feeling soon wears off.
- Happiness requires a willingness to adapt and to have goals.

Among multiple goals, says Dr. Isaac Seligman of the University of Pennsylvania's Positive Psychology Center, is the tough part. "Mostly, happiness is being content being discontent is unhappiness. If you're happy with what you are actually doing, then you have reached a level of contentment, a kind of emotional equilibrium." The difficulty, says Davidson, is that "as you grow older, there are increasing expectations on you, you face increased responsibility, you're under a bit more stress and you get a whole lot more serious. Now, if you could learn to get serious happy, maybe it still wouldn't harm to be as serious as it is for some of us. You

have to get serious about happiness." The biggest people, says UNBC's McLeod, "actually think about being happy and can tell you things they do to be happy. There's an age tradition in philosophy that says if you want to be happy, don't think about it. These guys turned out to be wrong." For social scientists, McLeod says, the pursuit of happiness is "the oldest game in town. Between the 1880s and the 1930s, what you would typically hear was that we're doing social investigation because we want to make it in the world better. That's still the hope. But it's a lot harder than anybody thinks." □

The Option Institute, Kaufman (month: books and seminars)

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Catch a rising star



Popcorn, Hollywood glamour, teenage girls and teenagers here

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Popcorn, Hollywood glamour, teenage girls and teenagers here. The annual Toronto International Film Festival (Sept. 5 to 14). And, as its director, Ron Fricman, has seen it happen time and time again—the Cannes of North America. This year the list of stars expected to converge on the festival is overwhelming: Tim Rourke, Al Pacino, Demi Moore, Hugh Grant, Whoopi Goldberg, Gerard Depardieu, Angeline Bismuth, Jaye Duvalley, Matthew Broderick, Marisa Tomei, Matt Dillon, Martin Sheen, Debbie Reynolds, Albert Brooks, Grant Tinker, Helen Mirren, Jeff Daniels, Kevin Spacey, Kevin Bacon, Cher—and, oh yes, French director Jean-Luc Godard. "The list goes on and on," says Fricman, interviewed just before the festival's opening last week. "It's exhilarating and very flattering. But I really hope the media doesn't just gorge out on the obvious movie stars."

Cool movies and hot talent light up Toronto's film festival

fresh influx of \$100 million for domestic film and TV production. But as commercial success outweighs art, the festival—like the film community that surrounds it—is undergoing an identity crisis. "The real challenge now," says Fricman, "is to maintain a balance between art role, which is to discover new work from around the world—including films that may never be distributed here—and showcasing work that's about to go into release. There's more

and more pressure to act as a showcase." With 174 films from 70 countries, the festival will offer an eclectic variety of choices (page 64). They range from Michael Caine, director Neil Jordan's controversial epic starring Liam Neeson as the father of Irish independence, to a series of films from Vietnam. And there is an astounding number of domestic debuts by Hollywood actors, including Al Pacino, Pacino, Broderick, Cher, Spacey and Bacon. But as American stars show up in Toronto to unveil their work, some of Canada's leading filmmakers seem to have gone missing. Although there is no crowded policy, for years the Toronto festival has tried to promote a program of Canadian films in its opening-night gala, or at least something by a Canadian filmmaker. But the country's best directors tend to make dark, disturbing films, pictures that do not exactly create a festive mood among the black-tie patrons who show up looking for a good time at an opening night. In 1987, the festival hired a controversial, sexually violent in-joke Claude Leguay's *Leslie*. Other opening-night titles from Canada have included *Black Robe*, which deals in genocide, and three films ending in suicide—Robert Leguay's *Le confessionnal* and David Cronenberg's *Dead Ringers* and *M. Butterfly*.

This year's most prominent Canadian film is Cronenberg's *Cross*, about a character who gets sexually abused by Canadians, accused a scientist in Canada. But everyone involved—the director, the distributor and the festival—hasly agreed that *Cross* would be unsuitable for Toronto's opening night. Trying to keep a lid on the film's controversy until its release next month, the distributor decided not to show it at all. Instead, they tried to snare Leguay's new movie, *Le Péquignole*, but lost it to the most Venice Film Festival, which coincides with the Toronto event.

And yet another Canadian film by a quirky director, Bruce McDonald's superb *Hard Core Love*, slipped out of reach. As a radical punk "rockumentary" with a splash of sex, it was not a candidate for



Another film in focus: desire, repression

make its Canadian debut. It was a disappointment that it was not shown at Toronto's CN Tower. But it is a local story that will be a high-flying Hollywood blockbuster in Canada: gone down south.

Movies produced by actual Canadians tend to get made on a whim and a prayer. And many would never be made without public funding. That the *Screenplay* budget for David Wellington's *Long Day's Journey Into Night* came from the federal agency, Telefilm Canada, is a testament to the industry's need for a subsidy, a brilliantly consummated marriage between film and television (page 60). But, as one of three stage adaptations among the season's new Canadian movies, it is also a marriage of convenience, reflecting a mood of pragmatic austerity in an industry afflicted by funding cuts.



Devoted (left), Paganist: A featherweight family adventure that rides on comic charm

to a brood of irresistibly cute goings. It is a light, however, to raise gaze without clipping their wings. And what whereas wilder of other fantasies to do just that, Amy and her brother teach their flock how to fly and migrate south. The narrative follows a predictable flight path, with some heavy diversions. But its heart is there—the orphaned birds and the motherless family—downside only. Both Daniels and Pagano, who was an Oscar for *The Piano* (1993), and director Carol Ballard (*The Black Stallion*) makes visual poetry out of the aerial sequences—rhapsodic images that, in the tradition of *Peter Pan* and *E.T.*, tap into every child's dream of flight. A Mother Goose movie for all ages, *Fly Away Home* is uplifting in every sense of the word.

The goose goes Hollywood

FLY AWAY HOME
Directed by Carroll Ballard

It was one of the most bizarre border crossings in history. In October, 1993, playing an outright affront that he built and designed himself, Canadian sculptor and environmentalist Bill Lawman found 18 homeless geese from his home near Ottawa, Ont., to winter nesting grounds in Virginia. The following spring, the geese flew back unaided to reunite with their surrogate father. This true story about a Canadian dweeb—documented in Lawman's recent book, *Rather Goose*—has now been turned into a Hollywood fable, with a fanciful plot, a teenage heroine and a minor villain. But before anyone gets too upset about the Americans despoiling another Canadian icon (the *Moose*, the new Canada mascot), it should be said that *Fly Away Home* is quite

opening night. But the distributor kept it out of the festival which, after being asked to show it in the last 100 films of opening night, the festival in St. Catharines, Ont., and Vancouver.

In the end, Toronto launched its festival on Sept. 5 on an unusually light note with the premiere of *Fly Away Home*. A Hollywood makeover of a Canadian story about training geese to fly south, it serves as an apt, if insouciant, metaphor for Canadian film industry whose talent routinely migrates south. The next night, the festival unveiled another family picture, Canadian director Norman Jewison's *Anger*, a Hollywood movie set mostly in Newark, N.J., and shot mostly in Toronto (page 60). *Fly Away Home* and *Anger* are both heartwarming depictions about children who lose their mothers. And, coincidentally, they both open with a fatal car crash—it is not Cronenberg's *Cross* somehow transposed itself into the festival in spite of everything.

Fly Away Home is a rare bird. Unlike most Hollywood movies shot in Canada, it does not swoon towards Toronto's CN Tower. But it is a local story that will be a high-flying Hollywood blockbuster in Canada: gone down south. Movies produced by actual Canadians tend to get made on a whim and a prayer. And many would never be made without public funding. That the *Screenplay* budget for David Wellington's *Long Day's Journey Into Night* came from the federal agency, Telefilm Canada, is a testament to the industry's need for a subsidy, a brilliantly consummated marriage between film and television (page 60). But, as one of three stage adaptations among the season's new Canadian movies, it is also a marriage of convenience, reflecting a mood of pragmatic austerity in an industry afflicted by funding cuts.

That is why the Cooper announcement this week came as a welcome relief. Mysteryously changing an octet \$100 million out of her budget, she has doubled funds for broadcast and cable production—which

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

FILMS

filmmakers rely on—no \$200 million. And half of the income is specifically earmarked for the CBC production. Welcoming the news, producer Robert Lantos, CEO of Alliance Communications Corp. of Toronto, told *Mailweek*: "We can compete with no subsidies of any sort, but to do that, we have to create a product which is as too demanding as what comes out of our competitors' factories in Los Angeles."

But what is a Canadian movie? Like the national identity, the whole notion seems to be up for grabs. After directing Jessica Thundy's final movie (Canadian), Toronto director Deepa Mehta returned to India, her birthplace, to make *Pire*. Wellington found inspiration for his film in classic American play books staged in Stratford, Ont. Other Canadian films selected by the festival include a documentary shot in Russia (*Between Swans*) and a porn farce set in Los Angeles (*Wilder Wilder*). It is an oddly uncommercial selection, dominated by dramas of sexual transgression. A partial survey.

Pire opened *Perspective Canada*, the festival's show case of homegrown cinema. But it is shot in New Delhi with a largely Indian cast and no public money from Canada. *Pire* depicts a Toronto-based Canadian immigrant viewer who has a hard time identifying *Pire* as a Canadian movie. It is a contemporary drama about a shy Indian man who falls in love with a young Indian woman who is seduced by their friends. One husband has a Chinese mistress; the other has taken a spiritual view of celibacy.

Sensually photographed and tightly scripted, the film is a feminist morality tale that gets down to sexual repression. It features a radiant performance by the lovely Shabana Azmi, whose eyes convey a subtle vulnerability and depth of emotion in this drama. *Pire* director attempts the play's major challenge to Indian puritanism—as idealized, and somewhat schematic. But it has a beguiling beauty.

Swans is a British-Canadian co-production in which cultural identity gets even more convoluted. Adapted from a novel by Winnipeg writer Carol Shields, it stars English actress Minnie Driver as a famous American author writing about an obscure poet from small-town Ontario who was abandoned by her husband. There seems to be more business than heroism in the new Canadian film, and *Swans* (like *Pire*) has two of them.

Richardson's character comes to depend on a nervous *Winters* (Brenda Fricker), who has inherited the poet's legacy. Richardson and Fricker make an engaging pair as the whimsical author and the wise librarian, two strong but skittish women besieged by academics. And *Swans* slips a witty yinger into the literary world, albeit by a sly look at the strolling and prancing of unworldly literature. But the male characters lack depth. And by planting the seeds of a thriller—gorilla backdrops to the poet's murder—British filmmaker Anna Brown gives us up to expectations that are never quite fulfilled.

Lilies, an elaborate period drama, is the most ambitious of the new features Quebec dramatist Michel Marc Bouchard adapted the script from his own play and it is directed by gay Canadian playmaker John Greyson. *Love Distance* (1994), a musical satire about AIDS in Latin, which began in 1992, is an aging bishop arrives at a prison to hear an inmate's confession. But it is a trap



Bogart director Arnonson, left, plays a wiseguy and brother in a timely movie

The last-up is forced to watch a ring of prisoners connect the inmate's address—where he and the bishop were rivals in a homosexual triangle. The film's male cast, from a menacing Brian Curran to a second-

ing Gary Farmer, is impressive. *Pire* also plays by next to drag, a device that becomes especially such as the prison play scenes that double back to a summer resort at the turn of the century. The period scenes are ripe with ironic detail—contaminated water being served to the gay boys' bath. Unlike *Love Distance*, however, this is a stage play taken outside, not inside. But the story is hard to penetrate, the direction is coy and the unique anticlimax. That, however, did not stop filmmakers at the recent Montreal World Film Festival from voting *Lilies* the "Best Canadian feature" award.

The *Cockroaches* that *Alien* filmmaker, a stage adaptation on a much sparser scale, harnesses the comic brilliance of Miles Williams. Directed by Michael McNewen, Williams has adapted his series of one-man plays, *The Cockroach Trilogy*, playing a borderline psychotic called the Captain. Williams delivers a feature-length rant that ruminates through the heroic delusions—and disillusionment—of the rock 'n' roll revolution. The movie is instead

Slight, sweet tale is the genuine article

ROGUS
Directed by Norman Jewison

At one point in *Rogus*, the curmudgeon played by legendary Goldfinger warden, "Disney cartoons, every where you turn." It is a talling and airy, but it is a warm and fuzzy family movie about a child who consumes up an imaginary friend to replace his dead mother, but it is nothing like a Disney cartoon. It is unadorned by frantic action or fancy special effects, and the sentiment is sweet but not sugary. Seven-year-old Albert (Daisy Joanne) loses his mother, a circus performer. In a Las Vegas car crash, he is shipped off to Powers,

N.J., to live with a total stranger, a long lost relative named Harriet (Goldberg). On road, he conjures up an imaginary friend called Rogus (Gerald Saperstein), a kind of Gaius ghost. The script is pedestrian, a piece of whimsy with touches of tentative humor. But what makes the movie work is that Jewison gives his actors room to breathe. Under his tender direction, Goldberg and Saperstein play it straight, allowing their child co-star (from *The Jeff Foxworthy Show*) to steal every scene—and he is a heartbreaker. An old-fashioned movie by an old master, *Rogus* is no big deal. But it is genuine.

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FILMS

with a shimmering black-and-white cinematist. But Wilton's performance is astounding. In exact tones that run for ages, he talks to the camera while performing inner tasks, such as trying to get fire to a sleeping cat full of wood at night. Give the man a job on *The Man Who 22 Minutes*.

Kissed is the tale of a demure young acrophobia. Based on a short story by Toronto writer Barbara Gowdy, it is more tasteful than it sounds. Molly Parker is utterly compelling and strongly sympathetic

minimal or artistic fragility, the new model for Canadian cinema seems to be the 90-minute movie with one-and-a-half characters. *Silencer* is a littered tale of an underachieving Forrest Gump—a mentally challenged oddball (Hardee T. Lashburn) who courts an attractive travel agent (Alicia Winters), while his fellow schooler and sole friend (Kendy Haggard) looks on. With pathos outweighing passion, the logopedic romance is hard to swallow—it seems even more callously than the one in *Alone*. But writer-director Callum Murphy draws convincing performance from her actors, and tells a touching story.

Scars and (Not Me) is about an 11-year-old boy who glimpses his parents having torrid sex and then assumes, when his father is found dead the next morning, that his mother has killed him. When the mother takes on an unstable young lover, the boy becomes weirdly



Scars and (Not Me): The Catcher that the Girl Caught (left), and **Kissed** (right). *Acrophobia* drama, comic thriller and a demure young acrophobia

as a woman whose job is a funeral parlor becomes a labor of love. Making her feature debut, Vancouver filmmaker Lynne Stopkewich directs with a delicate touch. She portrays her heroine's obsession as a purifying romance, less vulgar in fact than her boyfriend's prudish interest in it.

Kissed is a slender but affecting drama. And, while there are no dramatic jokes about dead white males making the best lovers, it is laced with gallows humor. There is a masterful scene in which an undertaker masterfully demonstrates the art of embalming to his new apprentice. The camera, thankfully, does not show the body, but as he performs the procedure, precisely explaining each step, the imagination fills in the rest.

Silencer is another feature debut that deals with inappropriate love. And it, too, is a distinctive drama. (Whether through li-

gosity. Secretively directed by Pierre Gaspard, Louise Portal (the *Desiree* of the *Amoureuse* episode) makes a memorable appearance as the mother, but in the end drama flounders.

Trouble, a first feature by Calgary writer-director Paul Dzielanski, is the kind of movie Quebec's Tarantino might make if he understood shock therapy, popped enough Quaaludes and moved to the Great White North. It is a deadpan hotel flick about an artist who lives in his mother's garage and gets started up with a buddy's dirty scheme to rob a hotel of Brock's bandits. *Trouble* has serious moments, but is doomed by leaden pacing and a mirthless script.

Heater White, one of two gay thriller movies (along with Quebec's *L'Infernal*), comes from para-paranatural Bruce LaBruce. The director co-stars with Tony Ward, a former Madonna's boy toy, in a documentary-like tour of the gay sex trade in

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FILMS

Los Angeles. Draped in a hooded thin jacket, the film—like so much pornography—can be turned boring and abhorrent. With clearly unimpaired scenes of morose black masculinity and anguished nihilism (don't ask), recent direction is advised.

Project Gemini is an 80-minute but infinitely more watchable. Directed by Toronto filmmaker Peter Lynch for the National Film Board, it is an extraordinary documentary feature about a man's attempt to build a suit of armor that can withstand a grizzly bear attack. Troy Hurtubise—a scrap metal dealer, bear researcher and self-styled madman who based in North Bay, Ont.—has spent seven years and \$200,000 perfecting the 145-lb suit, which was inspired by the movie *RoboCop*. The movie documents a hilarious series of tests, as Hurtubise is wadded by two-by-fours, hit by a pickup truck and hung off the Niagara Riv-



Henry McCamus, *exquisite cinematographer*

er, mesmerizing grace, allowing a greater sense of intimacy than in the stage version.

The film delivers the

LONG DAY'S JOURNEY INTO NIGHT
Directed by Daniel Wellington

In the era of Pulp Fiction and Twin-Spotting, it takes a certain nerve for a hip, young director to make a movie of a play like this. *Long Day's Journey Into Night* is named three hours long and refreshingly gloomy. All the action takes place within the darkening interior of a house shrouded by fog. The usual tricks for making a play more cinematic—cutting down the top and taking the action outside—would be absurd in this case. *Long Day's Journey* would become *Short Day's Trip*. The power of the drama re-

A definitive take on a masterpiece

sults in the exquisite cinematography of being trapped with a family as it gradually lays itself bare through hours of recrimination, confession and remorse. In adapting the Scotland Fester's intentionally acclaimed 1994 production, 31-year-old Toronto director David Wellington has preserved what may well be the definitive version of Eugene O'Neill's masterpiece. It is no more than a filmed play, shot without gimmicks on a set built as a replica of O'Neill's house. But Wellington gives it a richly textured, wide-screen look. And his camera discreetly circles the characters with a sp-

ectacular performance to the screen instead of they are and many. William HULT delivers a showed, crisp clarity as James Tyrone, an alcoholic miser who gave up a Shakespearean acting career for typewritten roles. And, at the emotional centre of the drama, Martha Henry is brilliant as his wife, the morphine-addicted May. The role almost invites melodrama, yet without diluting its theatricality.

Henry roars in the character and makes her real, looking that knife-edge of paradox set on which Martha's emotions are so precariously balanced. Her transitions from brittle reverts to stone-cold bitterness are devastating. Tom McCamus brings a contemporary edge to the role of the younger son, Edmund, an anguished poet seriously ill with consumption. Roaming out the world, Peter Donat plays Richard, a well-loved impression as his drunken older brother, but the character is weaker to begin with. *Long Day's Journey* is no piece. Running at 173 minutes, it is something of an endurance test—but one in which patience is always rewarded.

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An eclectic world of movie wonders

Some of the best movies screening at the Toronto International Film Festival

Unhook the Stars Nick Cassavetes, son of John, directs his mother, the incomparable Gene Rowlands, and Maria Reme in a captivating drama about growing and losing a child.

Looking for Richard Al Pacino performs, directs and deconstructs the royal chaos of Richard III. **Shine** The true story of Australian piano prodigy David Helfgott's artistic descent into madness. **American Buffalo** Dustin Hoffman and Dennis Franz attack a David Mamet play. **Breaking the Waves** Lars von Trier's sensual melodrama on the Scottish adaptation of Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*. **Drifting Clouds** Finland's Aki Kaurismäki directs a transcendent comedy about a working-class couple who suddenly lose their jobs.

Michael Collins Liam Neeson stars as Ireland's legendary freedom fighter, with Crying Game's star Stephen Rea and his director, Neil Jordan. **Lars and Oliver** Christopher A. Delgado's A delightful and disarming love comedy from Australia. **Devlin** Thom Lou Angeles cabbies play *Taxi Driver* in the mean streets of Los Angeles.

Schappack Steven Soderbergh (Star, Liza and Madsen) goes wild with a Dada like dive into cinematic anarchy. **Whore** Nick Gomez directs Michael Rapaport and Lili Taylor in a club-busting drama of Miami drug dealers going to go straight.

Microcosmos Deep got ready for their close up. In a spectacular character study of the insect world.



Microcosmos Deep got ready for their close up

Twenty and Beyond Disturbingly beautiful images documenting nuclear explosions.

Potatoes After A strong hookers, a female serial killer and Margaret Thatcher, Nick Broomfield documents dominances.

Sound Jinxer Tilly and Gina Gershon play lesbian neighbors conspiring to rip off the mob.

Prisoner of the Mountains Russian director Sergei Bodrov's sweeping Chechen war story, inspired by a Talysh tale, *Chocoma* Capote.

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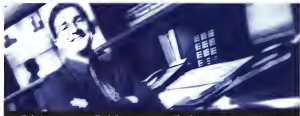
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Books

Brutes and
a babe

Elmore Leonard tells a
dizzying tale of pursuit

OUT OF SIGHT

By Elmore Leonard
(Delacorte Press, 206 pages, \$29.95)

The small-time hood, drug dealers, hit men and crowded bookies who populate Elmore Leonard's novels are best encountered on the page. In real life, they could be pretty creepy, not to mention dangerous. But with his gift for street patter, Leonard makes these lawless largely entertaining. In one case is, he has explored—to hilarious effect—the close-ups with snook, corn and money, their compulsive pursuit of an easy score. His 23rd book, *Out of Sight*, again tells an irresistible story—that of a fugitive bank robber and the cop who is intent on returning him to jail.

The easy character, Kenna Sisco, is a deputy U.S. marshaled in her late 30s. With her model's height and taste for Chanel suits, she is a knockout. She is also proficient in the use of a variety of weapons—her father calls her "My little girl, the tough babe." The target of Sisco's attention is Jack Foley, a bank robber with more than 200 holidays to his credit, who was serving a 30-year-to-life sentence in a Florida prison for, in his words, "wanting to be a good guy"—he knocked over a bank in order to help out his cousin.

The two meet when Foley breaks out of prison with the help of his partner, Buddy, and takes Sisco hostage. During the getaway, Sisco and Foley are hidden in the trunk of a car together. In these close confines, they get to know each other, discussing—among other things—Foley's favorite movie, *Boyz n the City*.

Since escapes from Foley who heads north to reveal a state-wide manhunt. Once in Detroit, he teams up with Maurice (Shoggy) Miller, an ex-convict who heads a gang of bank robbers, for a big score. Sisco follows, intent on bringing back Foley and retrieving the gun he stole, her favorite Sig Sauer. 35.

With its fast-paced plot, replete with numerous double-crosses and payoffs, this is a vintage Leonard, in the same league as his acclaimed *Stick* (1983) and *Get Shorty* (1993). *Out of Sight* guarantees that Elmore Leonard will not be out of mind.

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Emberley, battling against "perceived sectarian" with political agendas

perspective optimists" than a genuine attempt to understand how the world works.

But while he rightly pillars "his hypocrisy" that has directed postmodern theorists, Emberley dismisses one of his most useful arguments: academic analysis. He is particularly scathing towards anyone who uses evidence of "a pervasive, systemic violence against women" in the 1869 massacre of 14 women engineering students by Marc Laporte at the University of Montreal. Public school teachers have been elected by students, he argues, and executives have been shot by their employees, but no one argues that teachers or CEOs suffer pervasive and systemic discrimination. That kind of reasoning, no doubt, is precisely what drives otherwise moderate liberals to so warmly embrace cynicism and hypocrisy.

And it is not only what he calls "the cultural left" that Emberley sees as "contributing to the decay" at the university. Analysing Merleau's annual making of universities, he describes his understandable frustration with a statistical survey that could never hope to capture every nuance of campus life. But here, too, a legitimate determination to defend the university's more earnest endeavours degenerates into a mad rush to pull up the drawbridge—on grounds many academics would find hard to defend. Universities should think twice about participating in the survey, he argues, because the money they spend to provide a seemingly useful data "constitutes an indirect tax on all Canadians and contributes to the profits of a private business venture." Surely the same could be said of every instance in which public officials take time to provide journalists with information and analysis. So much for the freedom to speak and to be heard.

Zero Tolerance affirms its founders are just much head-in-the-sand in light. Emberley has a qualm when he takes on those who argue that students should graduate with at least a few more marketable skills. "University education," he writes, "truly understood, cannot be seen only as job training." But why does he leave it at that? When we consider the academy to be more exclusive, accountable and attuned to the world, why does Emberley not look for ways to incorporate them into his own noble and worthy vision of higher education? Instead, he turns his back, retreating into his comfortable world of "beautiful dialogue and meditative withdrawal" without any of the market or the market can almost bear his snarling. "Don't you all just be quiet and then?" I'm trying to think.

VICTOR DWYER

WACCIAN/SEPTEMBER 16, 1996 49

BOOKS

An academic argument

**ZERO TOLERANCE: HOT
BUTTON POLITICS IN
CANADA'S UNIVERSITIES**

By Peter Emberley
(Chicago, 313 pages, \$28.95)

There is something so black-and-white about the term "zero tolerance," a take-or-leave-it, throw-down-the-gauntlet quality that immediately puts many people on the defensive. Nowhere has this phrase rattled more feathers than in the core values of professional academics, many of whom see growing intolerance of racist, homophobic and racist ideas on campus as a threat to their freedom to teach and publish freely. So it is not surprising that Peter Emberley, director of the newly formed College of the Humanities at Ontario's Carleton University and a thoughtful defender of liberalism in public education, has chosen to examine what he calls "the fractious debate in this country about the fate of the university." Nor is it surprising that he has chosen to title his examination *Zero Tolerance*. What is remarkable is Emberley's own complete lack of patience for feminists, liberals and even representatives of the business community who, he contends, are replacing "the polyphony of scholarly conversation" with "a cacophony of voices" that are "pursuing their own political agendas."

At a time when a loud and exciting debate is unfolding over the purposes and future of higher education in Canada, Emberley finds himself in a lull in his heated argument, finding off the barbed wire of the ivory tower—a man with virtually zero tolerance for anyone whose vision of the university differs from his own. It is an odd choice to which Emberley returns repeatedly throughout the book, and one that he describes with considerable eloquence. The university, he writes, is "a Gothic mansion filled with secret rooms and hidden staircases," that affords by turns "the careful cultivation of a moral attitude," and "the opportunity for serendipitous finds, rediscovered and even acts of greatness." Thus, the university is an institution acquired from the real world of special interests—whether political or economic—a place where the intellect can flourish. In the face of a growing array of "unpermitted sectarian"—not to mention the noisy media and interventionist police and state—it is incumbent on academics, he argues, to preserve that vision at all costs, and to defend the academy as a place of "less sharply dialogued and meditative withdrawal."

In defence of the
Ivory Tower—
complete with
drawbridge

A pessimist writing with a little thick message, it may be that Emberley is too poetic for his own good. At times he seems hypnotized by his own rhetoric, unable to draw the line between insightful analysis and a knee-jerk attack on those he analyzes. His scathing indictment of deconstructionist theory, for example, is for the most part delightfully on target. Originally a method of searching for hidden meanings in traditional texts, deconstruction—the argues—has become, in the hands of many feminists "a kind of permanent revolution against all things," more "a

Allan Fotheringham

No story here, boss. Sorry.

So you see, on my island in the Pacific, summer winds down. The night owl captain, at two miles per hour, drops his gigantic bag boom 350 yards astern. What does a tug boat captain think about at two miles per hour? How does the giant spider, washed down the bathtub drain last night in the cottage, reappear in the morning?

Such are the great philosophical riddles that occur to a mind that is in neutral as the summer winds down. On my island in the Pacific, Charles de Gaulle is still asleep. As he was last summer and the summer before. He, in fact, has been asleep longer on my island in the Pacific than he has been in France.

The mountain range opposite, perhaps five miles across the water, has on its top a replica of Charles, his proboscis most prominent, lying on his back, content with having saved that patch of his country that Jean de Arc did not. The Sleeping de Gaulle consoled us all, knowing that to our barren collapse, Charles's famous back rests were and are.

On my island in the Pacific, the ladies on the tennis court still insist on saying "sorry" to opponents when they make a winning shot—and "sorry" to their partners when they stuff one. I try to teach them they might say, in the latter case, another word starting with the same sound, but to no avail. My mistress of very big legs tells us barrels ground.

The big item this summer, on my island, is the cougar. There has been a great flurry, in the newspapers, over the violent mother in mountains elsewhere who sacrificed herself to a cougar to save her son. Suddenly, on the tennis courts, there is the terrible story of someone's dog being eaten by a cougar last night. Children are urged not to stay out past dark. The runaway machine. My island in the Pacific is rapidly being conquered with the Keweenaw Jungle.

The ever-alert BEAR, taking time out from being fitted for costumes made by Disney, on investigation find only that "a local man heard a loud cackle having sound when his dog came bounding in from nearby woods." On inspection—what is Disney fit, after all?—officers were unable to detect any trace of bites or scratches on the dog.

Such was the disappointment on the tennis courts as to the racers. There are bears on my island in the Pacific, Bambi beards



G. F. FOTHERINGHAM

are always in front of the now-looking like Don Quixote—but not coconuts. On an island without news, it is always evening when a rumor dies. If truth be known, the most terrifying sight on my island is the annual appearance of Old, otherwise known as Hagar the Horrible from comic strip fame. Old has an official parking sign outside his establishment, non-Norwegians are barred.

At his summer-ending blast, featuring on a spit a Boudier that he has shot in the non-cougar forest, he appears in his flowing white beard topped with a helmet sporting horns that make him look like one of those Brundageans in a male version of a Metropolitan Opera opera. Small children and dogs bay at the noise.

In my cottage on my island in the Pacific, there is an television—though a television set. It accepts only videos, the only videos being endless versions of Family Ties. John Cleese is a genius, we all know, but at two weeks of solid Family Ties one almost longs for Larry King.

We ensure the cupola of course, being at strong will, and do not even complain about missing the World Cup and Wayne Gretzky and Sheila Copps's effort to bankrupt the nation by buying flags. There are advantages to being on an island in the Pacific as the summer winds down.

The children, naturally, arrive on the weekends, arriving over who sleeps where, and why father has not upgraded his wardrobe, which apparently has been inherited from the Duke of Windsor. My 2-year-old, who has the advantage of being 2 years younger and claims his great is squash, strangely enough does not know the recent annual tennis deal with Papa that has not—over the years—revealed son as a genius with a racket.

On my island, one of the great sights—almost equal to the Sleeping de Gaulle—is the morning appearance of the dog walking the park. There is a small, silver chip, who owns a bone that is the size of a small beer. It is obviously a Saint Bernard, white of face, shaggy of hair, enormous in gladdening strength, larger than the imaginary cougar, dragging through the forest trails each morning a doctor who thinks he is walking his dog. When the appetite is true.

The social disaster of each summer on my island in the Pacific, as it always is, is the season-ending, always-suspected, silently-brandy two-day tennis tournament that—so inevitably happens—destroys friendships, leads to divorce, drives some to drink and others to endless gossip. A final newspaper from a foreign province prevails, through the filter of the press, into the final, breath of muddle, the worst only because of being known as The Human Backboard—the takes everything back, not knowing where it is going to go on it. The age-conscious one wins a prize a Boudier, a can of used tennis balls. It is being hoarded and soaked.

And that's what I did on my summer holidays.

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